NEW

PILGRIMS

THE FASCINATING STORY OF THE NEW WORLD'S EARLY SETTLERS

NEW ENGLAND

Digital Edition

FIRST EDITION

ORIGINS • THE ATLANTIC VOYAGE • CHALLENGES • LEGACY

Welcome to...

PILGRIMS

After several long and arduous attempts to start the voyage to the New World, it must have seemed like an impossible task. The Speedwell had sprung a leak after every attempt to set sail, and when the Mayflower eventually embarked on the journey on its own, the passengers were plagued by buffeting winds and seasickness. Was a fresh start really worth it?

In the All About History Story of the Pilgrims, find out exactly why the Pilgrims were determined to leave England, discover why their initial hopes of settling in Holland were scuppered, trace the tedious voyage of the Mayflower and uncover the harsh reality of life in the New World.

PILGRIMS

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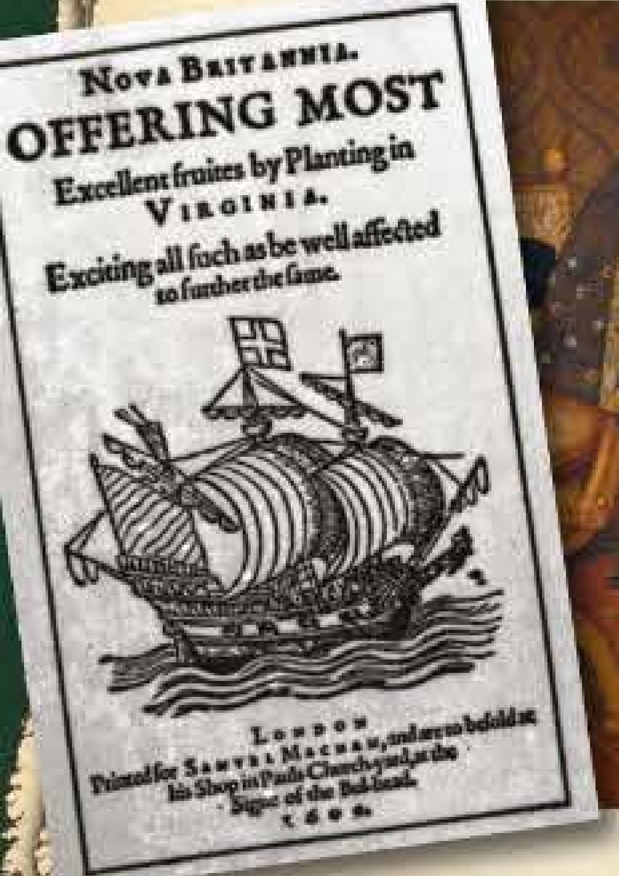

Nova Britannia.
OFFERING MOST
Excellent fruites by Planting in
Virginia.
Exciting all such as be well affected
to further the same.

London
Printed for Samuel Macham, and are to be sold at
his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the
Signe of the Bul-head.
1609.

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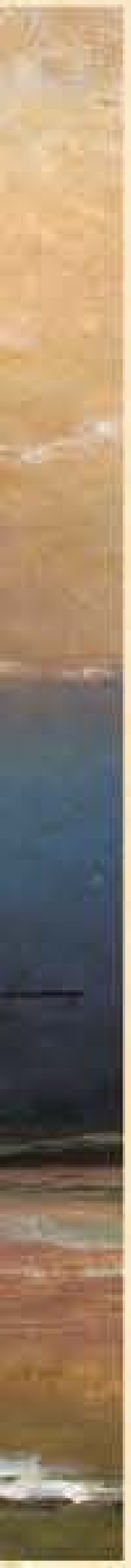

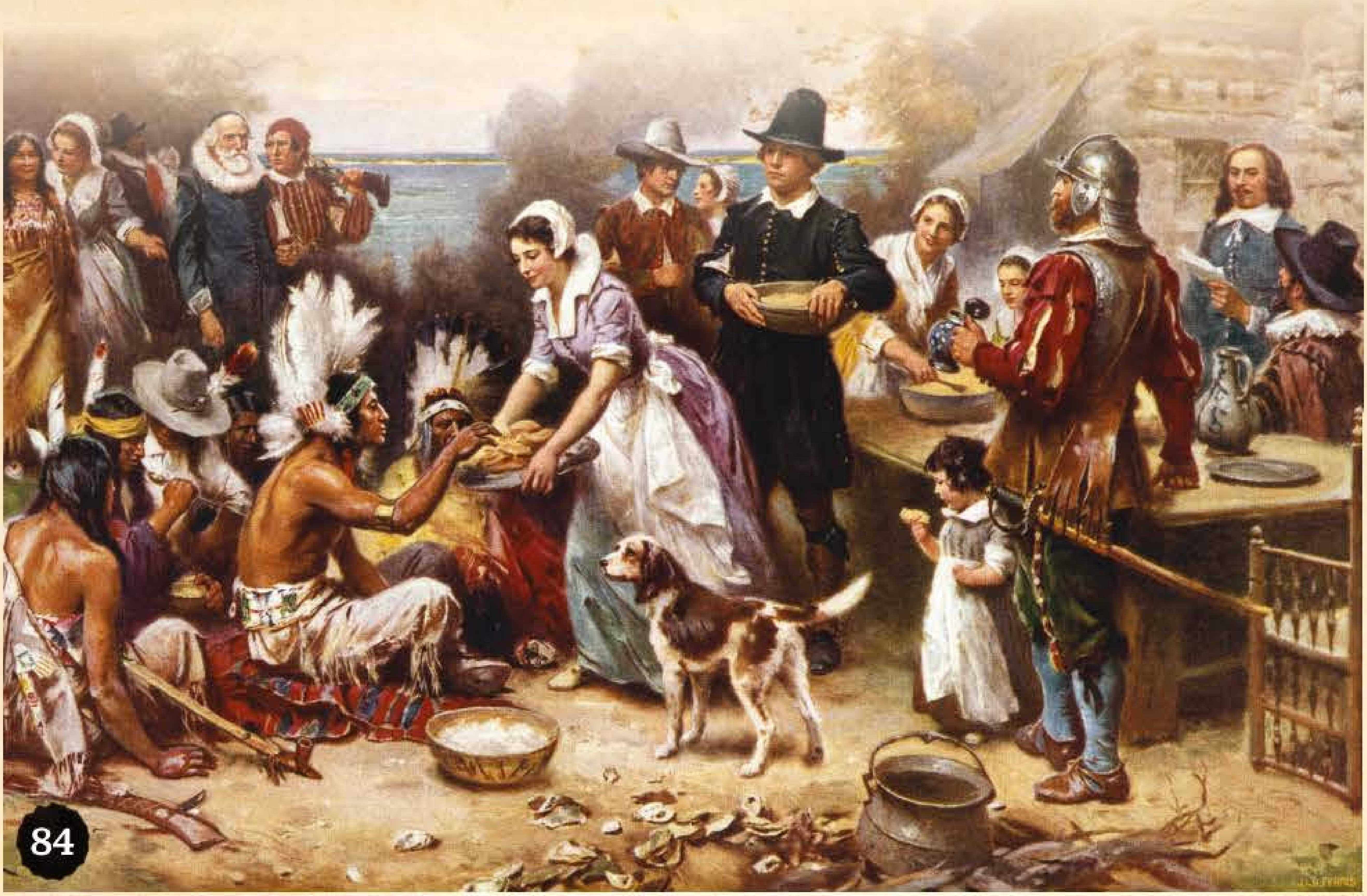

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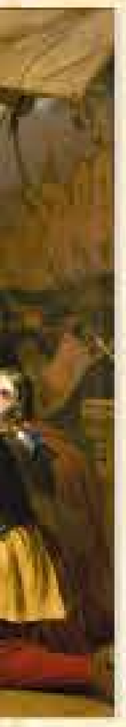

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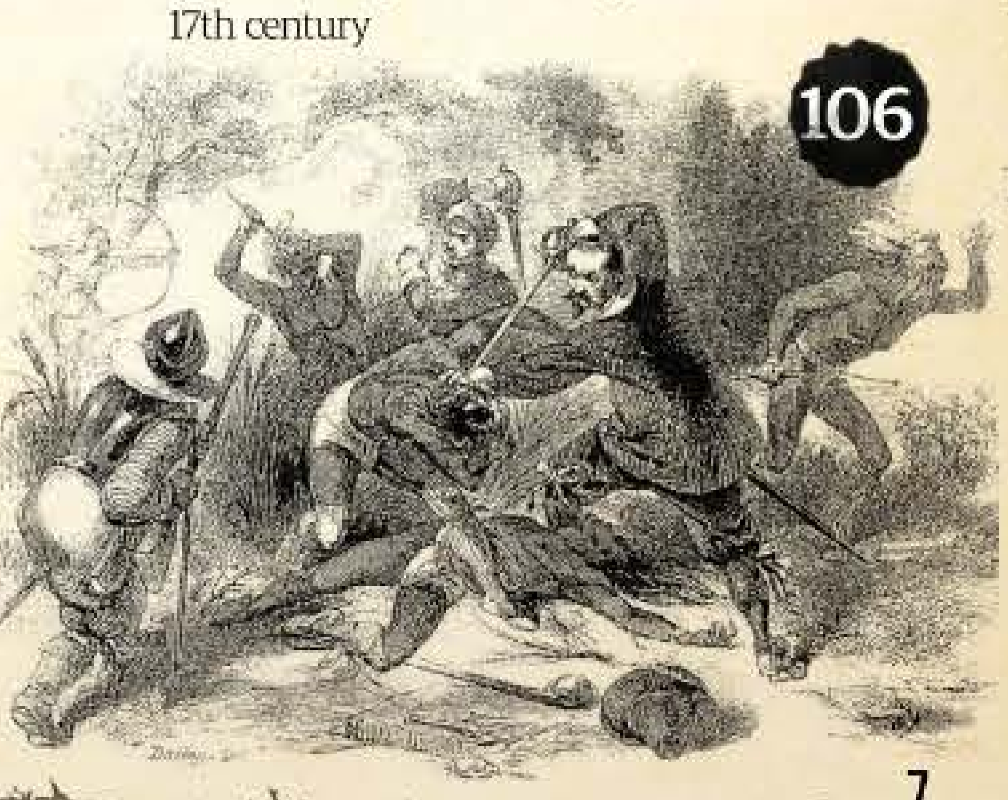

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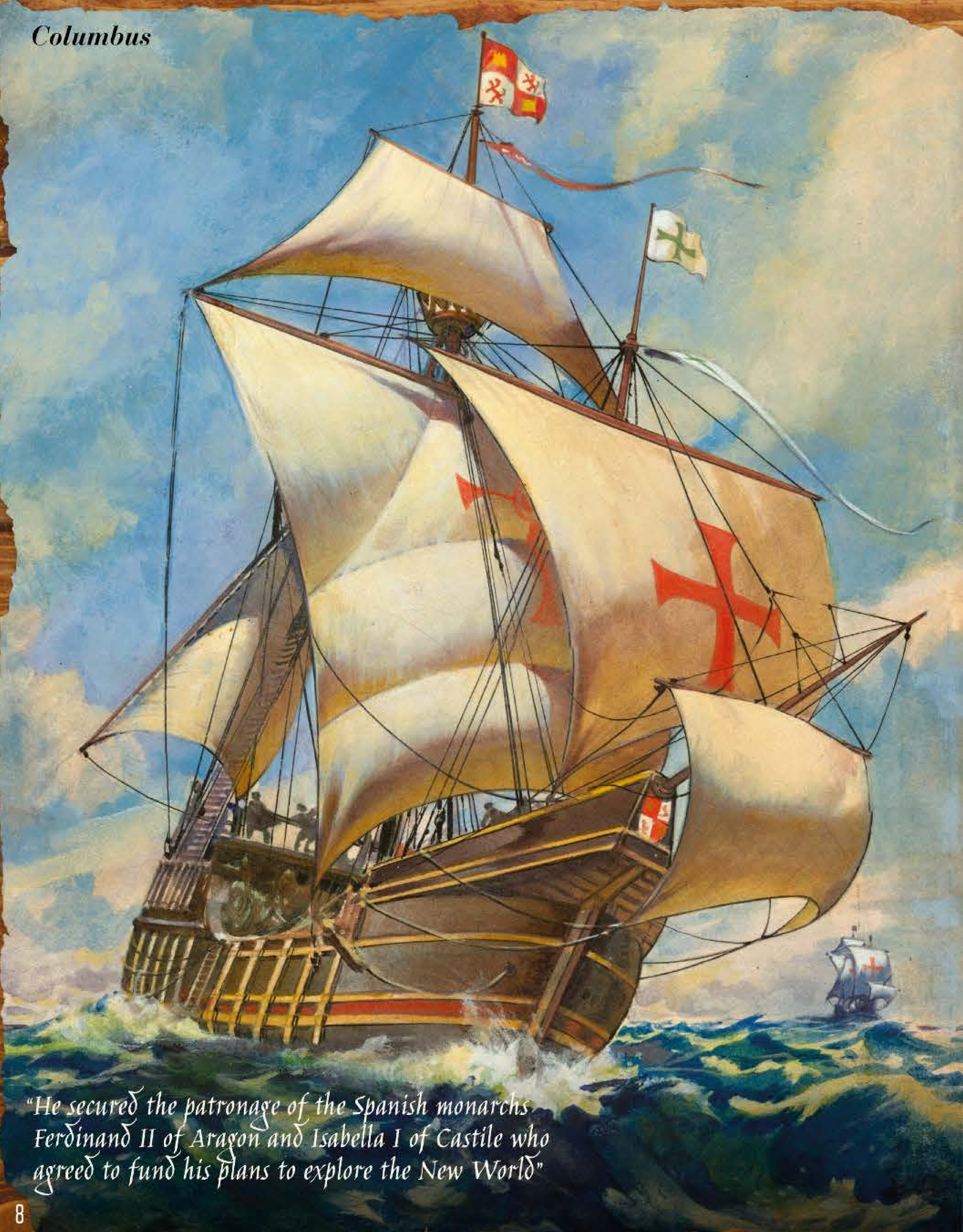
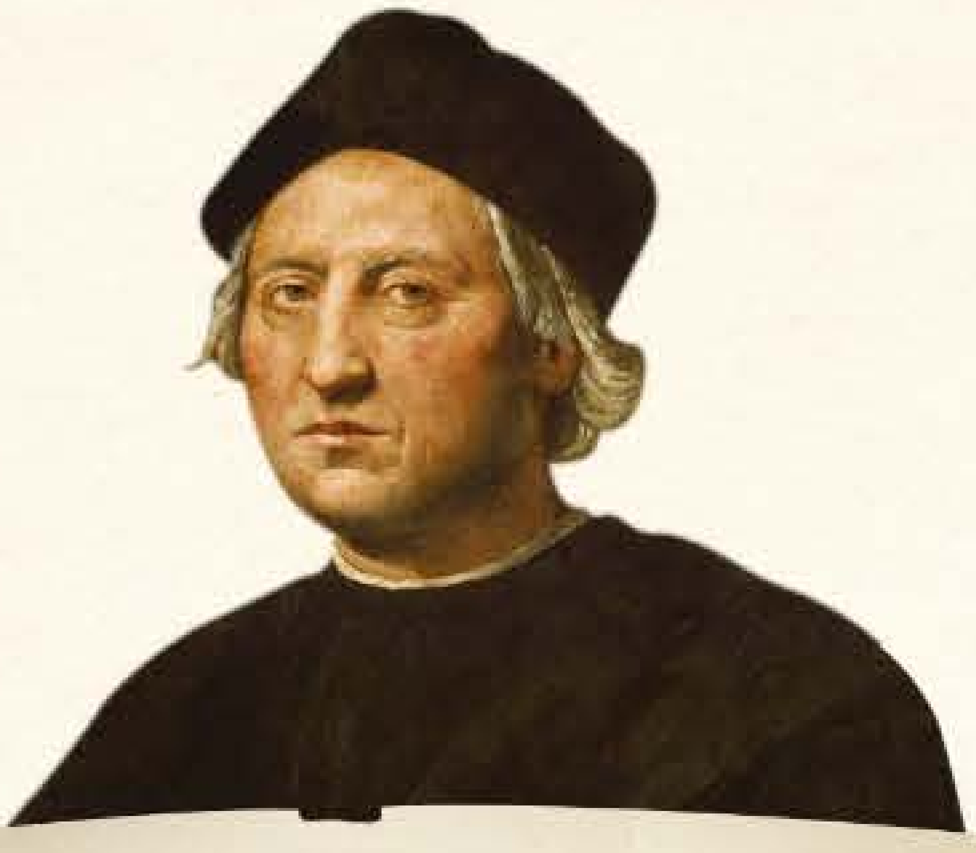


"He secured the patronage of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile who agreed to fund his plans to explore the New World"



COLUMBUS

EXPLORER · ICON · MURDERER

WORDS BY: *Dom Reseigh-Lincoln*

Christopher Columbus was instrumental in defining the New World, but did he rule his new-found lands with a brutal and bloody iron fist?

The son of middle-class Genoan wool weavers, Christopher Columbus is not your usual child. Driven and incessantly inquisitive, the young boy is fascinated with the maps and charts the traders and seafarers bring to his coastal home in Italy. Something about those empty spaces on the intricately marked canvas calls to him, a fantastical need to fill those gaps and claim the glory such discoveries would surely bring. The unknown doesn't unsettle him, like it does many people of the time - in fact, it does the opposite: it captivates him. Seeing a rare tenacity in his eldest son, his father spends what money a wool weaver can spare and secures a place for Columbus at the University of Pavia. There he studies grammar, geography, geometry, astronomy, navigation and Latin - but for all his studies, the young Genoan finds his mind drifting to those blanks voids on the map. This hunger would define his life forever.

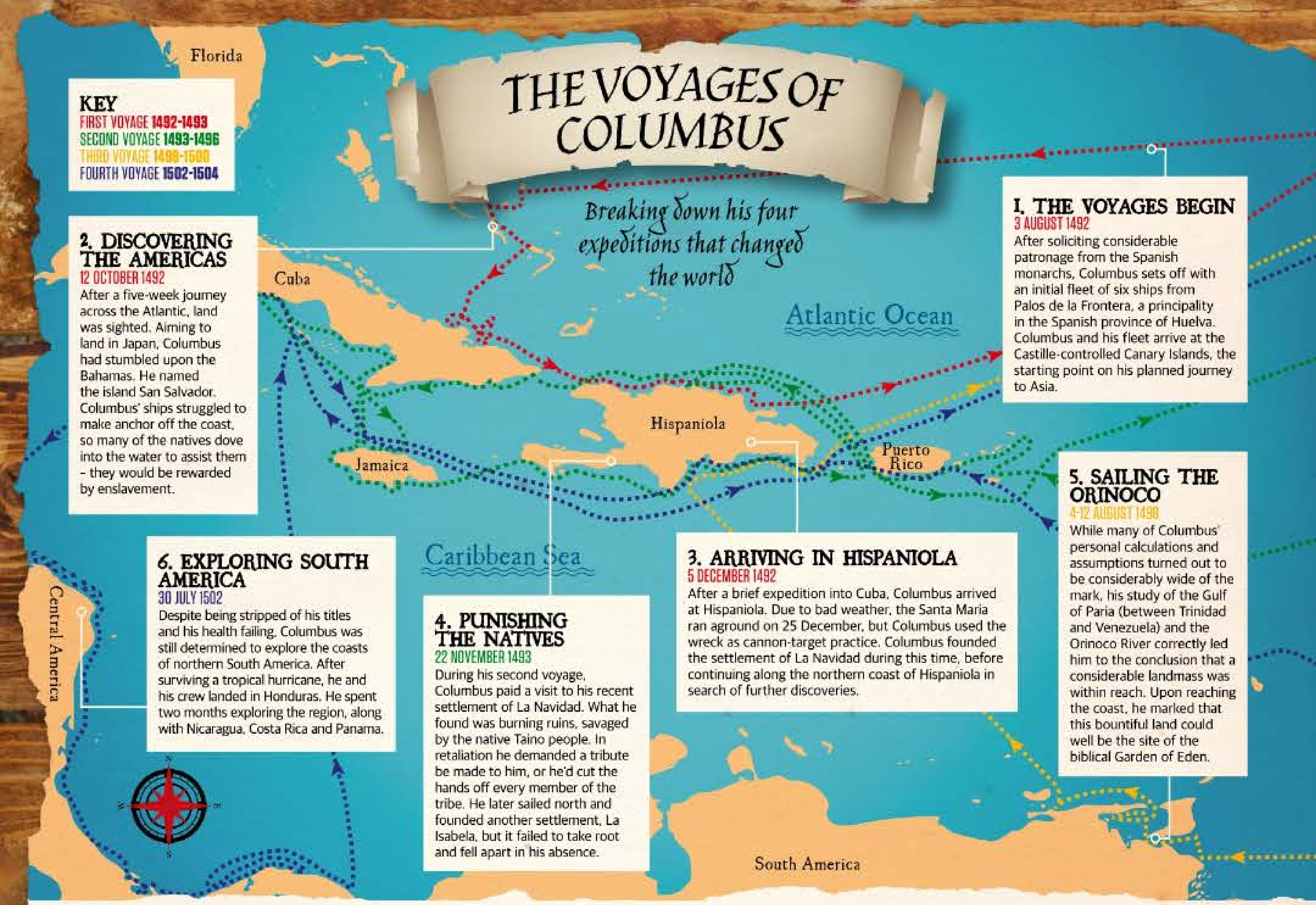
In 1470, Columbus gains an apprenticeship working as a business agent for three influential Genoan families. His learned background and tenacity in the face of adversity makes him a ferocious businessman and he's soon captaining ships that carve the ocean like blades. His work takes him far and wide across the civilised world: Lisbon, Bristol, Galway, West Africa and even settlements in Iceland become common ports of call. While deeply pious, Columbus steadily builds a reputation for ruthless determination. But for all his years of trade and commerce in these establishment lands, Columbus would always find his mind drifting to those incomplete maps he pored over as a child. The only thing standing between him and those fabled lands of untold riches was money. It was time to find a patron - an incredibly wealthy patron.

For many years, Europe held a distant yet lucrative trade relationship with the East. While under the rule of the once-rampant Mongol Empire, European traders travelled a relatively safe route of passage to China known as the Silk Road, but now that Constantinople had fallen to the Turks, the route was rife with piracy. The East was now too dangerous a path to take, even for the most hardened of captains. Columbus was searching for a new route to India and the riches of Asia and to achieve this his plan was simple: sail west across the Ocean Sea (the 15th and 16th-century name for the Atlantic Ocean).

Sailing west wasn't just a case of turning your ships about and sailing away from the Orient, though. Since a portion of the map remained undefined on Western charts, the view of scholars, geographers and seafarers was a skewed one. Theories that the Earth was a flat disc persisted among some, but it was more the misinterpretations and speculation involving the distances between Europe and Asia, as well as the actual size of the mysterious continents and islands that were rumoured to lie beyond the storm-ridden oceans. Even Columbus' own theories were wildly inaccurate, but his intensity and sheer persistence made him stand out from his peers. He eventually secured the patronage of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, who agree to fund his plans to explore the New World and claim it the name of a unified, Catholic Spain.

THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

Breaking down his four expeditions that changed the world



1. THE VOYAGES BEGIN

3 AUGUST 1492

After soliciting considerable patronage from the Spanish monarchs, Columbus sets off with an initial fleet of six ships from Palos de la Frontera, a principality in the Spanish province of Huelva. Columbus and his fleet arrive at the Castille-controlled Canary Islands, the starting point on his planned journey to Asia.

2. DISCOVERING THE AMERICAS

12 OCTOBER 1492

After a five-week journey across the Atlantic, land was sighted. Aiming to land in Japan, Columbus had stumbled upon the Bahamas. He named the island San Salvador. Columbus' ships struggled to make anchor off the coast, so many of the natives dove into the water to assist them - they would be rewarded by enslavement.

3. ARRIVING IN HISPANIOLA

5 DECEMBER 1492

After a brief expedition into Cuba, Columbus arrived at Hispaniola. Due to bad weather, the Santa Maria ran aground on 25 December, but Columbus used the wreck as cannon-target practice. Columbus founded the settlement of La Navidad during this time, before continuing along the northern coast of Hispaniola in search of further discoveries.

4. PUNISHING THE NATIVES

22 NOVEMBER 1493

During his second voyage, Columbus paid a visit to his recent settlement of La Navidad. What he found was burning ruins, savaged by the native Taino people. In retaliation he demanded a tribute be made to him, or he'd cut the hands off every member of the tribe. He later sailed north and founded another settlement, La Isabela, but it failed to take root and fell apart in his absence.

5. SAILING THE ORINOCO

4-12 AUGUST 1498

While many of Columbus' personal calculations and assumptions turned out to be considerably wide of the mark, his study of the Gulf of Paria (between Trinidad and Venezuela) and the Orinoco River correctly led him to the conclusion that a considerable landmass was within reach. Upon reaching the coast, he marked that this bountiful land could well be the site of the biblical Garden of Eden.

6. EXPLORING SOUTH AMERICA

30 JULY 1502

Despite being stripped of his titles and his health failing, Columbus was still determined to explore the coasts of northern South America. After surviving a tropical hurricane, he and his crew landed in Honduras. He spent two months exploring the region, along with Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.

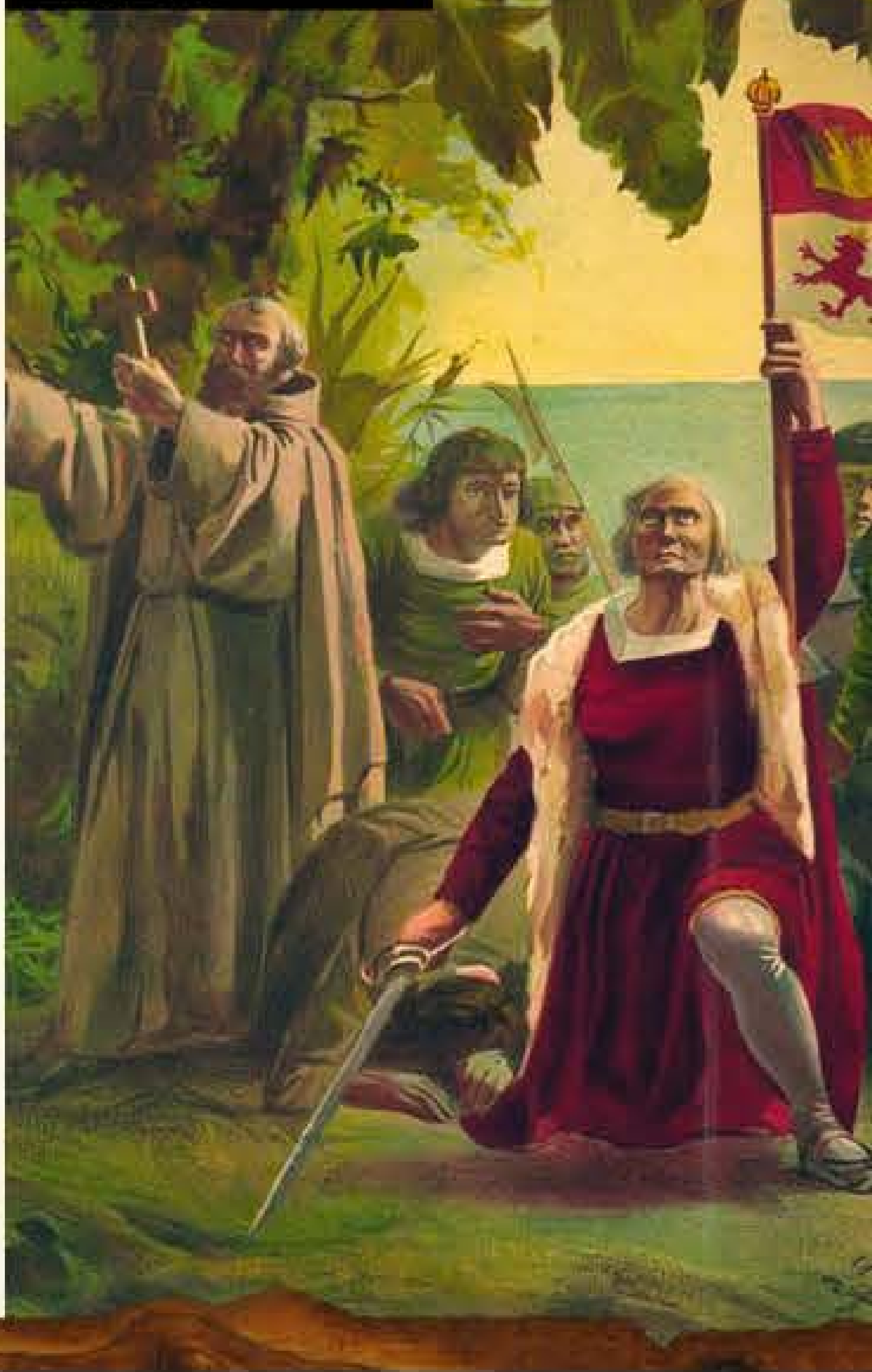
On the morning of 3 August 1492, with a contingent of three ships and two smaller caravels, Columbus sets sail from Palos de la Frontera. The swells are relatively calm and the ships carve a path toward the Canary Islands in a few days, before restocking supplies and setting sail for Japan. The three ships sail deeper into the unknown. Violent winds and angry swells buffet them across the waves, their intended course ripped apart by tropical storms these westbound seafarers have little experience with. By 12 October, morale on the ships is at a dangerously low - men have drowned in storms, masts have been broken by vicious gales and even a small mutiny breaks out. Columbus, sat within the confines of his cabin, stares at the maps before him. He knows their course has been broken, but it's the time at sea that troubles him the most. They should have set foot on new lands long before now. Time is running out.

Suddenly, out of nowhere, one of sailors above screams at the top of his voice: "Land! Land ahoy!" Columbus rushes from his desk, candles, papers and wine flying in his wake. The spray of the swaying oceans stings him in the face after so many hours in a stuffy cabin, but he's soon scrambling onto the poop deck, the prospect of land driving him forward. He squints and takes his first glimpse of a brand new world. Lush greenery and a pale-coloured beach can be seen in the distance, birds of a peculiar colour circling above the canopy. It's then that he sees them: dark-skinned men and women, most of them barely dressed at all, spears and bows clutched in their hands.

A few hours later, all three ships are anchored at a safe distance and the three crews are now safely on land. Columbus is standing upon Watling Island (which would later form part of the Bahamas). He names it San Salvador and claims it for the glory of Spain. Over the next few days, Columbus meets with the three main tribes of the island - the Taino, the Arawak and the Lucayan - and begins building a relationship that tells him a great deal about this new Eden. Only one other tribe, based on a distant island, is aggressive toward them, occasionally landing raiding parties to take slaves. In one of his journal entries, Columbus remarks: "I could conquer the whole of them with 50 men, and govern them as I please." Columbus views them less as people and more as another acquisition with which he can return to Spain. While this attitude may seem callous, it is a common one that will eventually drive and maintain the slave trade for hundreds of years to come. After a week or more on San Salvador, he begins searching the surrounding waters, eventually arriving on the northern coast of Cuba, before landing on the cost of Hispaniola on 5 December 1492.

Hispaniola is a much larger land mass than the first island he embarked on, and with a calm sea

A highly stylised depiction of Columbus' first landing in America in 1492



behind him and stories of a realm rich with gold and other treasures, Columbus is confident he's found the beginning of his own legacy. In a matter of weeks he establishes a settlement on the island, La Navidad, and on 25 December orders a specially chosen crew of his most trusted seafarers to take the Santa Maria and sail north and conduct more reconnaissance. Unfortunately, Columbus is drunk at the time he gives the orders, as is the crew he appoints. In a matter of a few hours, half the crew fall asleep and the boat crashes into the rocks.

On 13 January 1493, Columbus meets with the carique (the head chieftain of the Taino peoples) of Hispaniola, Guacanagari, who agrees to the explorer's request to leave 39 of his crew behind to populate the settlement. He leaves on the last exploratory part of his first voyage and arrives some days later on the Samana Peninsula, where he encounters the far less friendly Ciguayos tribe. The carique on the island refuses to grant Columbus leave to establish a settlement; battle soon ensues and two of the tribe's people are killed. As punishment, Columbus captures 30 of their people and sets sail for Spain – only seven of the captives survive the long trip back to Europe.

Upon returning to the court of the Spanish monarchs, Columbus becomes the talk of Europe with his journals, maps, fruits, spices, gold and native captives. His irrefutable proof of a new land between Europe and Asia now laid before them, Isabella and Ferdinand happily award Columbus the titles previously agreed, and he becomes the Admiral of the Open Sea and viceroy and governor of all the lands he discovers. In order to ensure the expansion of Hispaniola, Columbus sends his brother Bartolomeo along with a consignment of sailors, soldiers and tradesmen soon after.

On 24 September, Columbus sets out on his second major voyage. It's an expedition that takes a far more southerly route, taking in the other islands in the Bahamas, as well as a stopover in Jamaica. On 22 November, Columbus and his fleet of 17 ships turn their bows toward Hispaniola, the Genoan governor ready to see the plans he gave his brother back in Cadiz come to life. What he finds is a burning ruin. La Navidad has been razed, burned to a cinder by the Taino people that had been so accommodating the year before. He had brought civility to their darkened corner of the Earth. He had given them stability. He had given them the power of Christ. They had repaid him with a ruined settlement and countless butchered Spaniards.

In Columbus' absence, but very much following his direct orders, Hispaniola had quickly become

> "La Navidad has been razed to the ground, burned to a cinder by the Taino people that had been so accommodating the year before"

LIFE ON THE WAVES

What was the reality of sailing the oceans in the 15th century?

Ship's surgeon

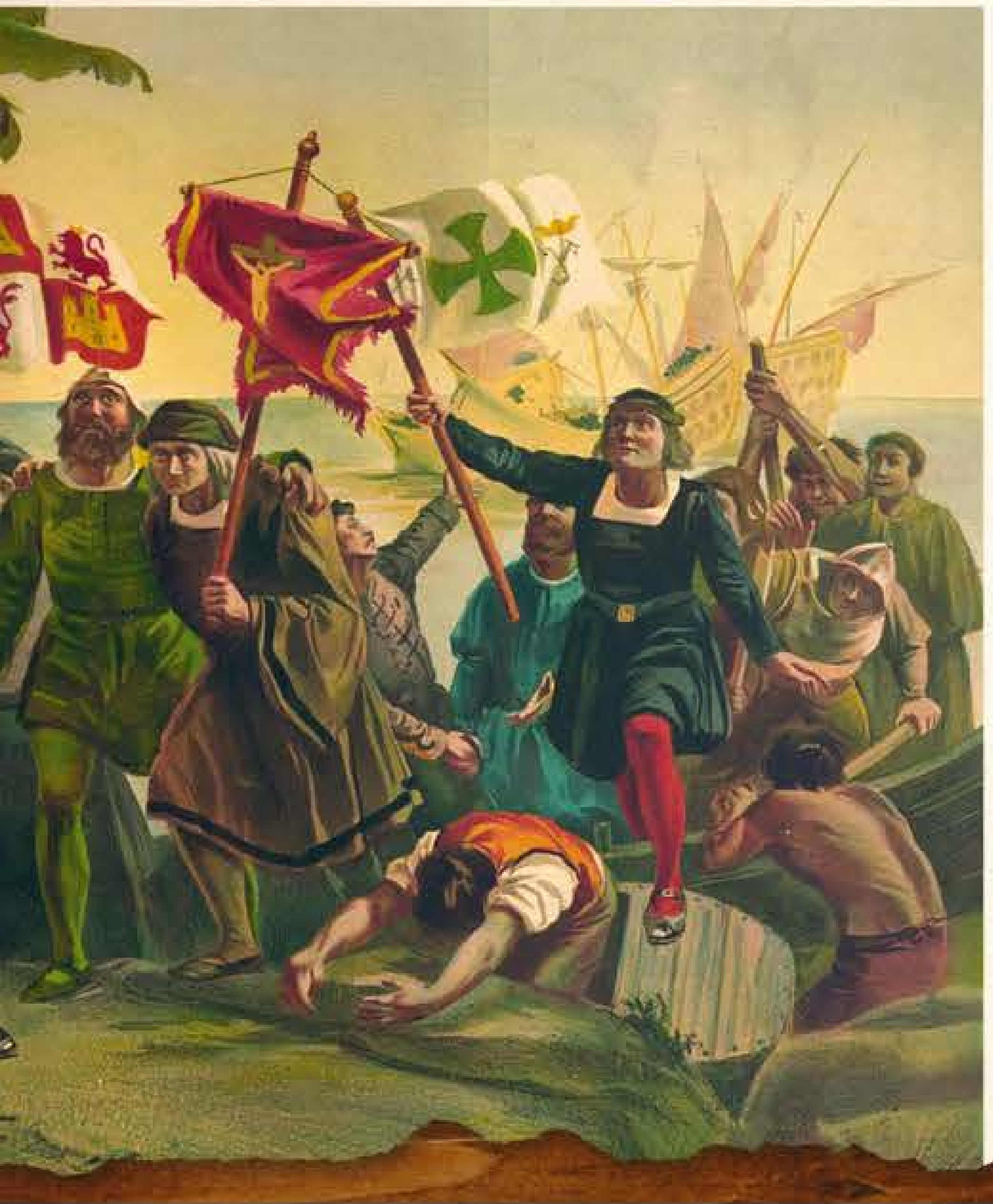
Life aboard a 150-tonne ship was fraught with dangers. Cannons could misfire, limbs could be broken by broken masts and flailing rigging, as well as the various diseases and ailments that could affect the crew. At the heart of all this was the ship's surgeon, whose role was to ensure a crew remained fit enough to fulfil their duties, however gruesome the treatment.

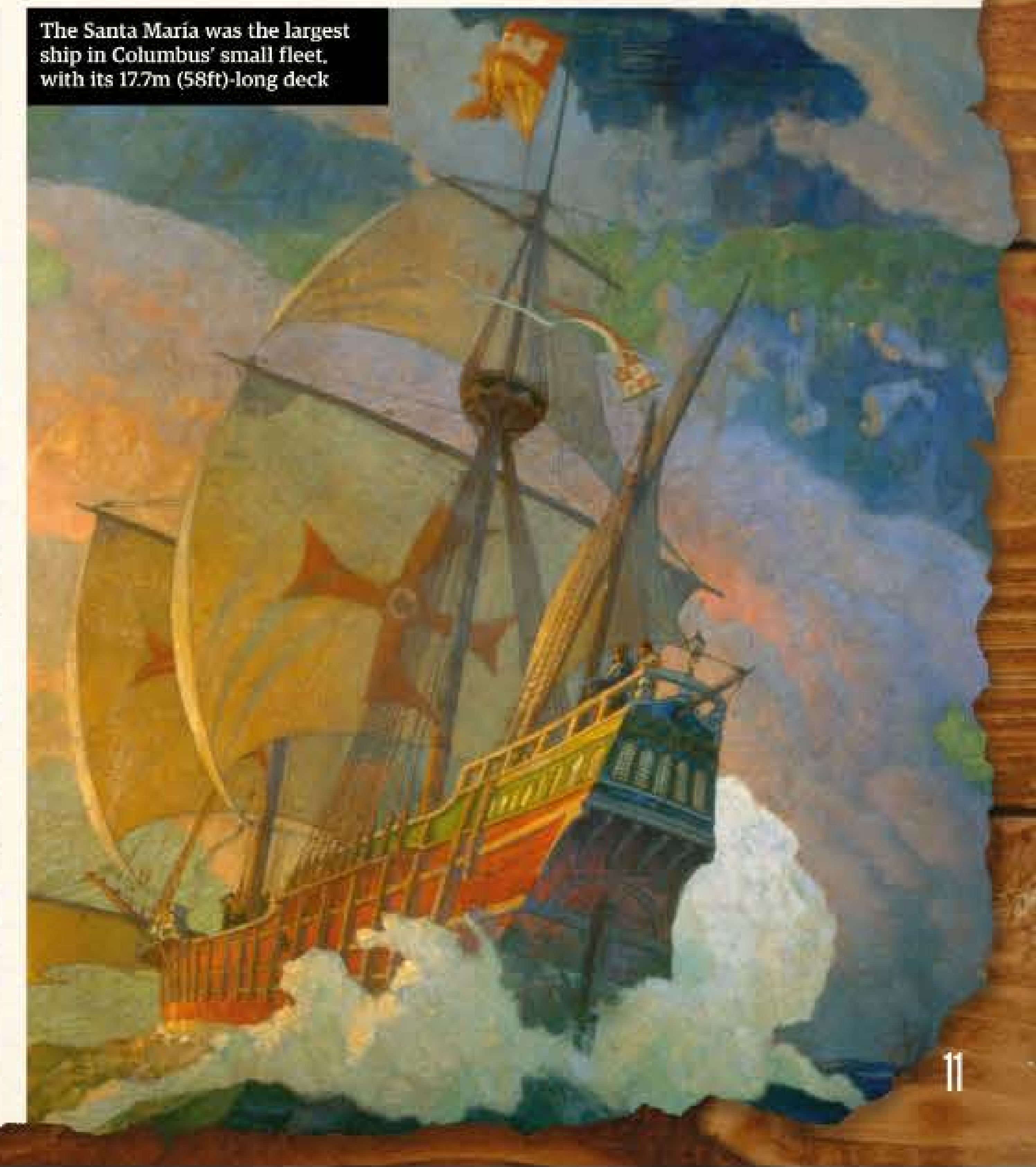
Boatswain

The boatswain was one of the most important members of a ship, and with that responsibility came its fair share of danger. A boatswain, usually the third or fourth mate, was in charge of maintaining the ship's deck and ensuring the sails and rigging remained in the best condition. In moments of emergency, such as a raging fire (a common occurrence due to power kegs overheating in hot, dry temperatures) and storms, a boatswain would be first on the scene.

Ordinary seaman

For all the master gunners and quartermasters, there was always need for seamen willing to do the hard graft that life at sea demanded. Known rather less affectionately to their fellow crew as 'swabbers', ordinary seamen found themselves doing the Santa Maria's worst jobs. Pumping and removing bilge (the stagnant water that collects in the lowest compartment of a ship), untangling knotted rigging and swabbing the decks clean were just some of their chores.





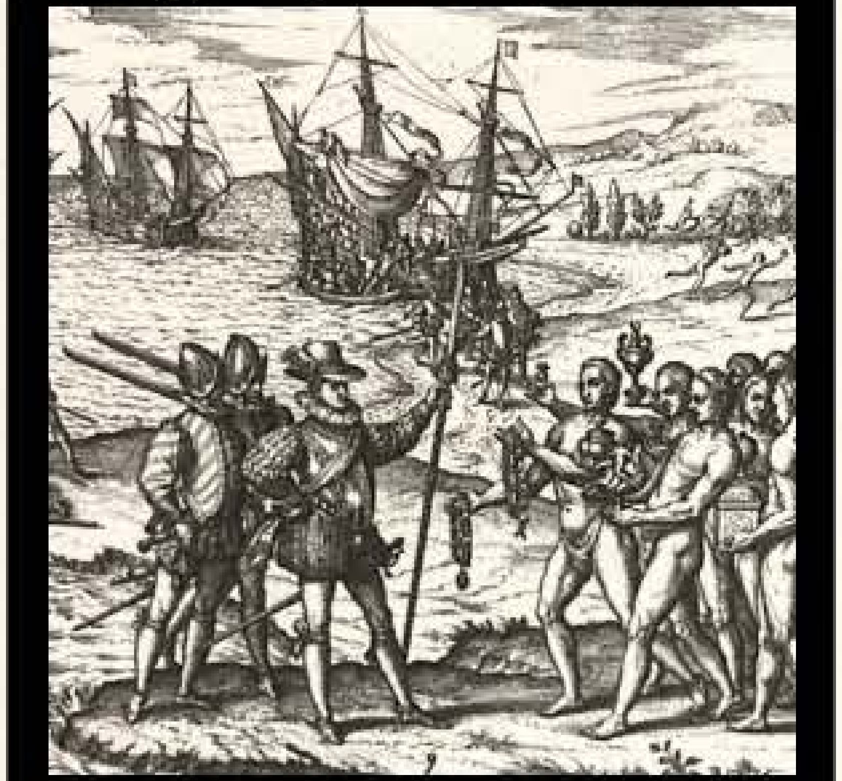
The Santa María was the largest ship in Columbus' small fleet, with its 17.7m (58ft)-long deck

CUTTHROAT COLUMBUS

Three of the legendary explorer's most brutal actions

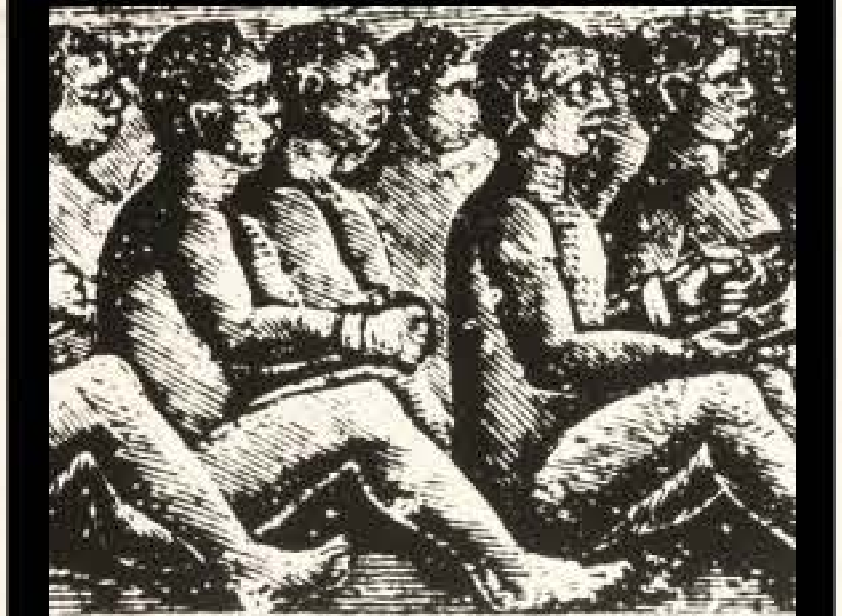
Public humiliation

Columbus and his like-minded brothers, Bartolomeo and Diego, were known for their psychological as well as physical torture. "Columbus' government was characterised by a form of tyranny", says Spanish historian Consuelo Varela. One such case involved a woman who dared to suggest Columbus was of lowly birth. Columbus' brother Bartolomeo had her stripped naked and paraded through the colony on the back of a mule. "Bartolomeo ordered that her tongue be cut out", adds Ms Varela. "Christopher congratulated him for defending the family."



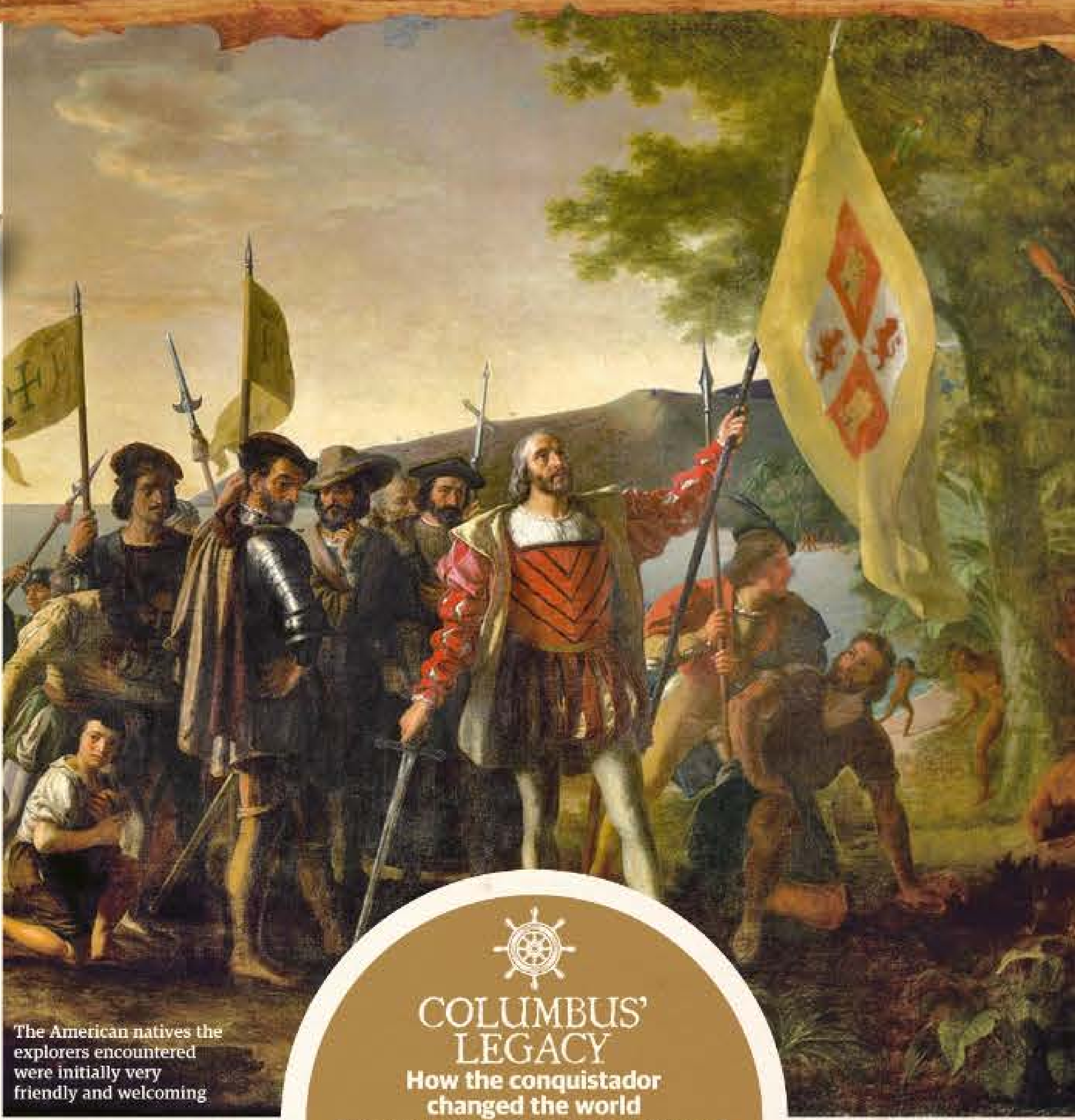
Worked into the ground

When Columbus arrived in the Bahamas in 1492, he discovered a number of peaceful native peoples, most notably the Taino tribe. Columbus himself remarked on how friendly these dark-skinned natives were – they carried few weapons either, since their society bred few if any criminals. He also discovered rich deposits of gold, so he claimed the land in the name of the Spanish Crown and enslaved that very tribe. Within two years, 125,000 – half the population – had died from working in Columbus' mines.



Slavery and mutilation

Columbus was a troubled man, paranoid and deeply suspicious, especially in his later years. According to one report, a man caught stealing corn had his ears and nose cut off at Columbus' request, before being sold into slavery. Enforced servitude became a common course of action for Columbus and his law-enforcing brothers. Columbus himself personally oversaw a sickening trade in sexual slavery, selling young Indian girls and women into a life of brutal prostitution.

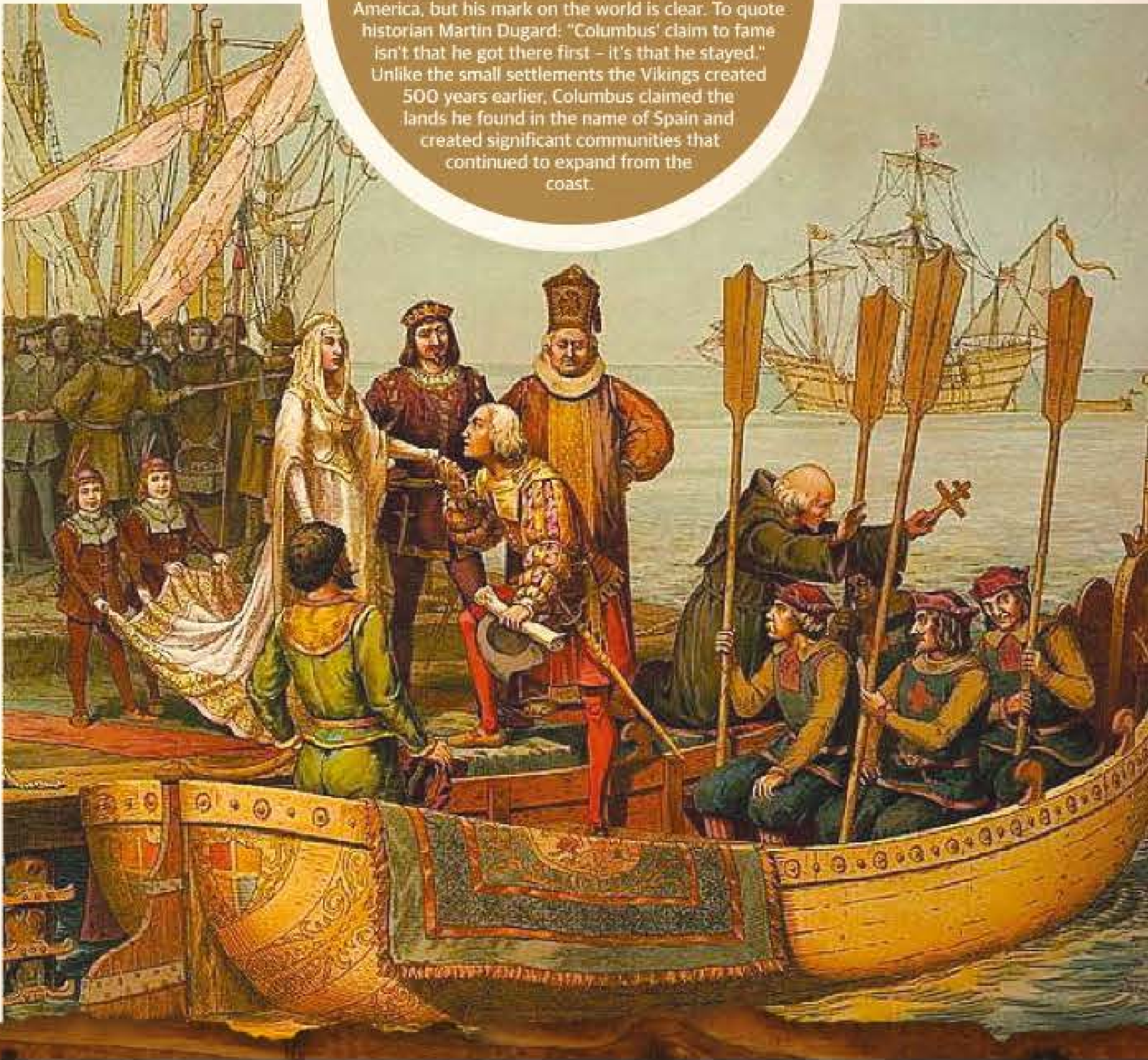


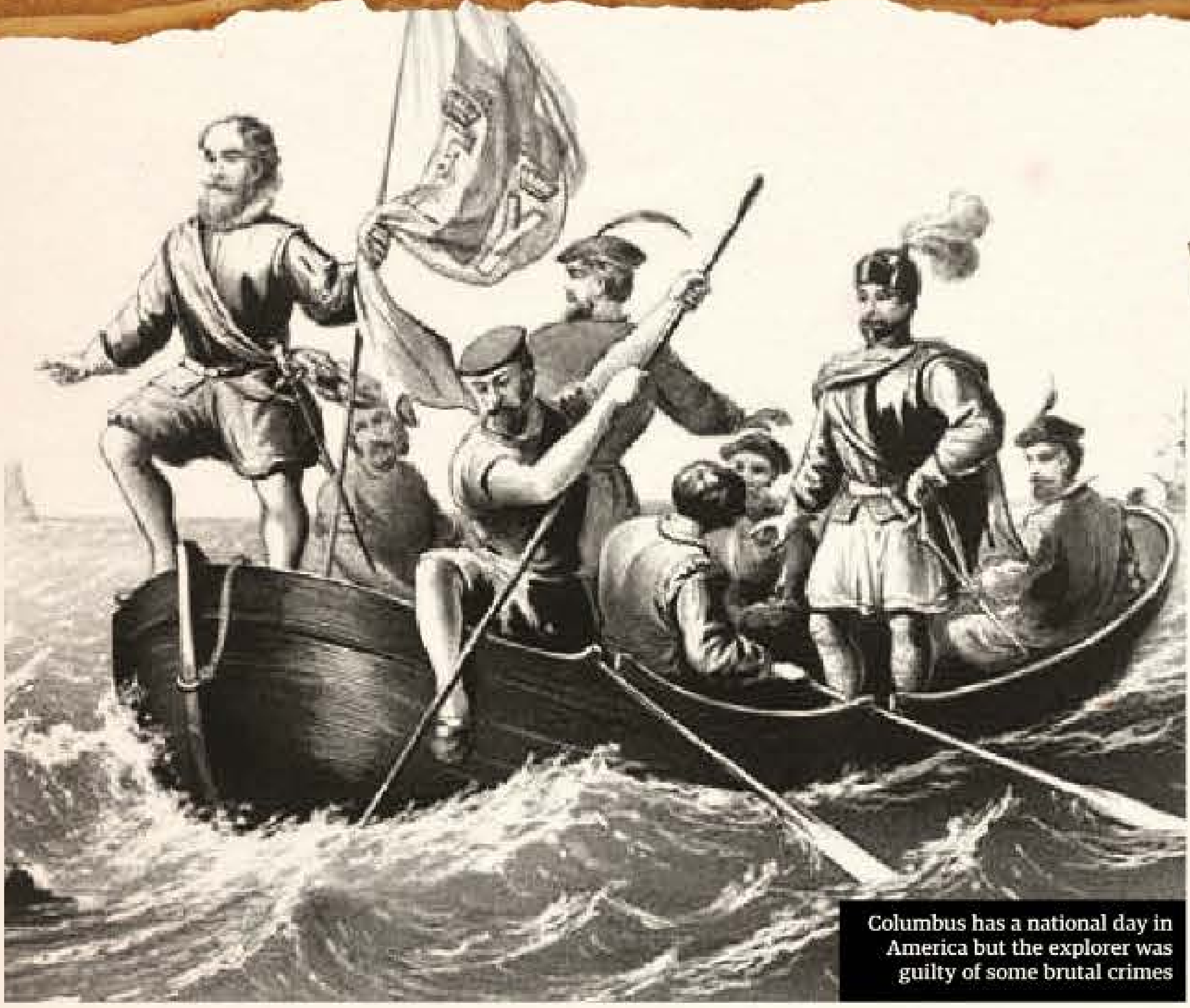
The American natives the explorers encountered were initially very friendly and welcoming

COLUMBUS' LEGACY

How the conquistador changed the world

Columbus wasn't the first European to reach North America, but his mark on the world is clear. To quote historian Martin Dugard: "Columbus' claim to fame isn't that he got there first – it's that he stayed." Unlike the small settlements the Vikings created 500 years earlier, Columbus claimed the lands he found in the name of Spain and created significant communities that continued to expand from the coast.





Columbus has a national day in America but the explorer was guilty of some brutal crimes

a far-different place than the one they arrived at. The abundant and peaceful tribes of the island were happy to share the locations of the gold-rich valleys with their foreign guests, but they were less prepared for what came next. Bartolomeo Columbus forced thousands of the natives into slavery, making them dig mines into the mountains, scouring it for precious metals. Hundreds of Europeans brought with them a great number of Western diseases, and such viruses spread through the unprepared natives like wildfire. Such conditions had led the Taino people to lead a rebellion against the foreign invaders, but their actions only galvanised Columbus' own desire for order and retribution.

With his brothers at his side and his Spanish patrons none the wiser, Columbus carved untold riches from the heart of the land. Such riches kept the Spanish monarchs happy, but rumours of brutality would soon spill out across the waves, with reports that Columbus' governorship had sent him mad with power. While reports of his brutality were true, they were seized upon with gusto by the many enemies he had made at the Spanish court, who were jealous of the riches he was making. It is likely his Spanish patrons did indeed have some idea to the lengths Columbus was willing to go to seek his fortune in the New World. However brutal he might have been, his efforts were still filling the coffers of the Spanish crown at a time where war had drunk them dry.

Columbus would conduct a third voyage before Ferdinand and Isabella were forced to send an emissary to investigate the claims that hung thickly over the Spanish court. After receiving the report, they stripped Columbus of his titles and sent the administrator Francisco de Bobadilla to further investigate and govern in his stead. When Bobadilla arrived in August 1500, the land he found was certainly a startling one. Columbus' seven-year rule of the island had enslaved a majority of the island's native inhabitants, which had reduced a population of a few million free people to around 60,000 by 1500. He hears reports of Columbus selling young girls into sexual slavery and complaints that Columbus and his brothers would mutilate and humiliate anyone who stood in their way. The man who now has his own national holiday in the United States was eventually sent back to Spain in disgrace, but the Spanish monarchs did not imprison or hang him; stripping him of their patronage and his titles had nearly broken an already sick and ailing man.

> "Columbus' seven-year rule had enslaved a majority of the island's native inhabitants, which had reduced a population of a few million to around 60,000 by 1500"

Columbus' legacy is defined by his passion for discovery, but some modern accounts are perhaps quick to forget he was a conquistador by name and by nature. Driven by a desire to chart and define the New World, Columbus had not only discovered new lands, he had helped establish a Western footing that would continue to expand for hundreds of years. In his later years he wrote: "By prevailing over all obstacles and distractions, one may unfailingly arrive at his chosen goal or destination." While his actions will always have a shadow over them, his life-long desire to banish the unknown will ensure his name lives on forever.

THE VOYAGES IN NUMBERS

The shocking stats behind Columbus' conquistador career

3,700KM

The distance between the Canary Islands and Japan, according to Columbus' calculations

17

The number of ships, made up mostly of durable, long-distance-ready carrack-style vessels, Columbus used in his second voyage in 1493

19,600KM

The actual distance between the Canary Islands and Japan. Despite the advice of cartographers and geographers, Columbus would not be swayed on his own estimates

11

Number of combined years Columbus spent exploring, with his four main voyages for the mighty Spanish Crown

1,500

The total number of colonists (mainly Spanish, Portuguese and Italian) that Columbus drafted for his first-ever voyage across the Atlantic Ocean

29

During his third voyage in 1502, Columbus lost 29 of the 30 ships he set sail with, after getting caught in a violent storm off the coast of Santo Domingo

10 EXPLORERS WHO HELPED DISCOVER THE AMERICAS

John Cabot

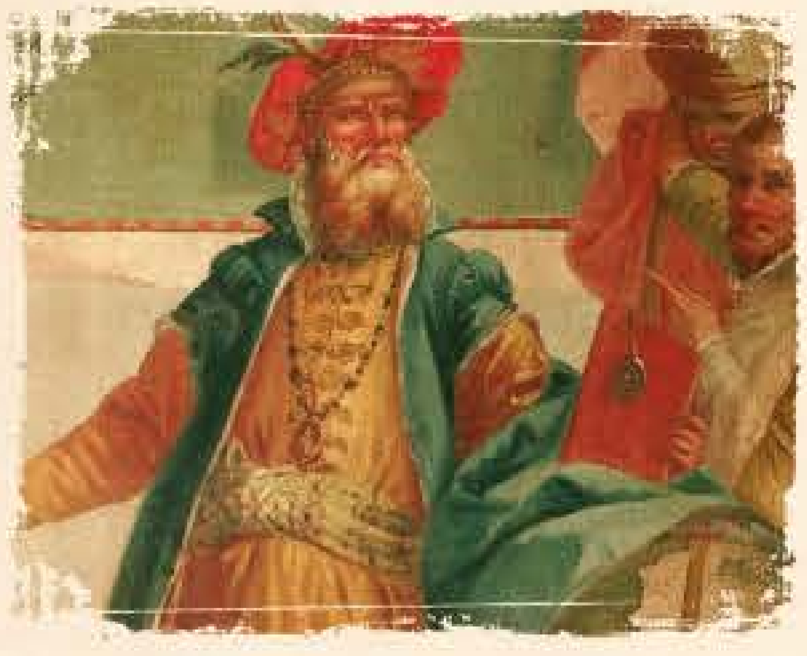
ITALIAN 1450-1499

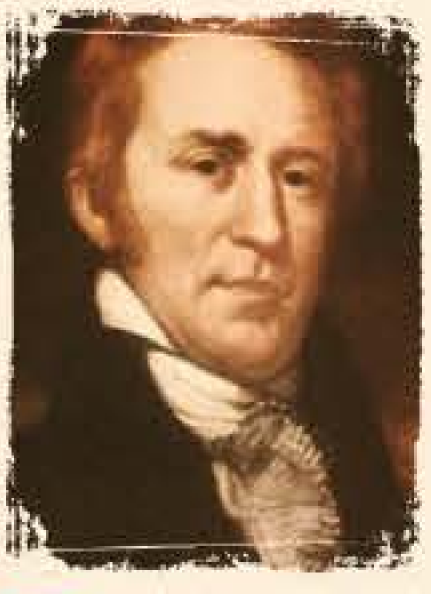
Exploring the New World in the name of the Tudors

Explored: Newfoundland

Also: Nova Scotia (Canada); Maine (United States)

John Cabot is believed by many historians to be the first European to set foot in North America since the Vikings established Vinland in the 11th century. Under the patronage of King Henry VII of England, Cabot touched down in Newfoundland, Maine and Nova Scotia. Unfortunately, Cabot was neither the sailor nor the captain that Columbus was and his voyages have largely been forgotten.





William Clark

AMERICAN 1770-1838

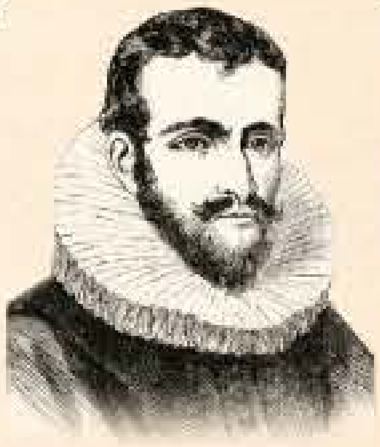
The man who co-charted and co-claimed the Pacific Northwest

Explored: Oregon

Also: Kansas City, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota

Politician. Soldier. Governor. Explorer. William Clark remains one of the most influential men to ever chart his own country. At the beginning of the 19th century, North America was divided between the United States, Spain and France. Following the purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803, Clark, alongside explorer Merriweather Lewis, led a two-year expedition that mapped a practical route through the wilds of the northern states.

> "Elizabeth granted Raleigh a patent to explore the New World"



Henry Hudson

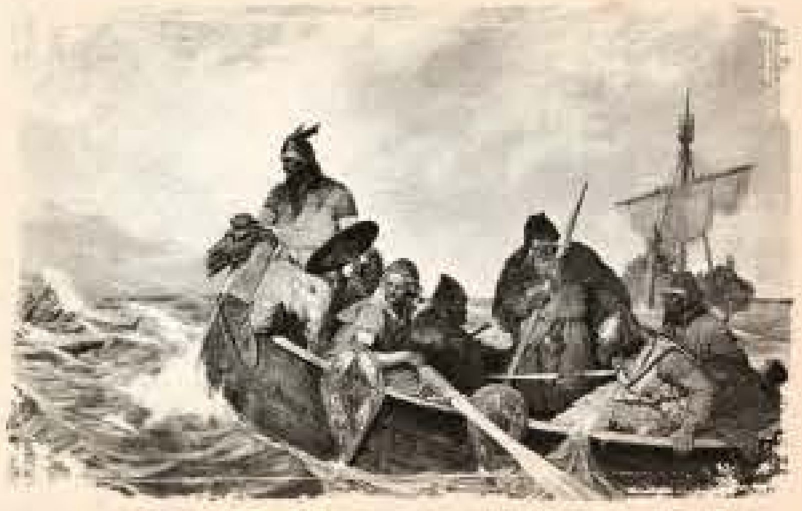
ENGLISH 1560s-UNKNOWN

A China-bound seafarer who stumbled upon New York

Explored: New York (United States)

Also: Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Canada);

While the particulars of Hudson's personal life remain speculative, his actions as an explorer helped change European understanding of the New World's geographical layout. While attempting to create a direct route to Cathay (the medieval name for China), Hudson accidently discovered what would become New York. In fact, Hudson's mapping of the region was so integral that a river was renamed in his honour.



Leifur Eiriksson

ICELANDIC CA 970 - CA 1020

500 years before Columbus, a Viking discovered the New World

Explored: Vinland (modern-day Newfoundland)

Viking explorer Leifur Eiriksson's travels across the oceans from Scandinavia helped establish a stronghold in Vinland (the Old Norse name for North America). While Icelandic records like the *Saga Of The Greenlanders* point out Leifur wasn't the first Norseman to place a leathered sole on American soil, he galvanised Viking activity in Vinland. Although he died almost a thousand years ago, the fabled Norse explorer left a mark on Scandinavia and North America that still remains. Visitors to St Paul, Minnesota, will see a bronze statue of Leifur standing proudly near the Minnesota State Capitol, with his image symbolising the migration of Nordic people to America.

The *worst* expeditions revealed

Some voyages into the unknown are famous for all the wrong reasons...

600 Spaniards die in the Gulf of Mexico

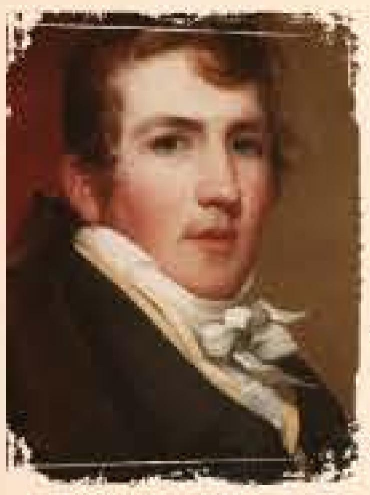
In 1527, the Spanish Crown sent a fleet to conquer and colonise Florida and the Gold Coast. A mutiny reduced the fleet at the Dominican Republic, while a hurricane drowned hundreds of Spanish sailors. The remaining survivors washed up on the coast of Florida, but many died at the hands of native tribesmen. Of the 600-strong crew, only four returned to Spain in 1528.

Magellan falls foul of the elements

Famous for almost circumventing the globe in the 16th century, Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan miscalculated the size of the Pacific Ocean on a voyage to Asia. Most of his 270-strong crew died of thirst and hunger long before they made landfall on Guam. Those who didn't perish died at the hands of Filipino natives, including Magellan himself.

A fatal race to the South Pole

In 1911, a group of explorers lead by Captain Robert Scott attempted to be the first people to reach the South Pole, but they were beaten in their quest by a Norwegian team led by Roald Amundsen. These five men – Scott, Wilson, Oates, Bowers and Evans – paid the highest price and died. Scott has since been blamed for poor planning but bad luck also played its part as well.



Robert Gray

AMERICAN 1755-1806

A captain who lost an eye, but gained an extraordinary legacy

Explored: California (United States)
Also: British Columbia (Canada); Washington, Oregon.

A merchant sea captain, Gray pioneered the maritime fur trade on the Northern Pacific coast of his home nation, discovering more regions as he pushed trade further up and down that side of the country. He's most famously credited with the first American circumnavigation of the globe, as well as the travelling on and naming of the Columbia River in 1792. To this day, many geographic features in Washington and Oregon bear his name to mark his historical legacy.

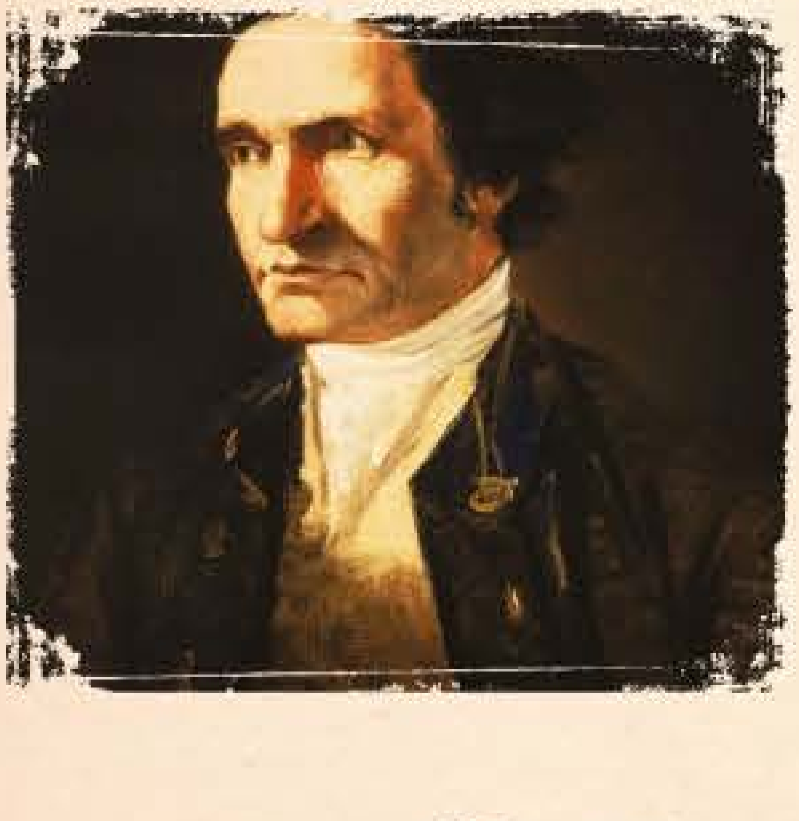
James Cook

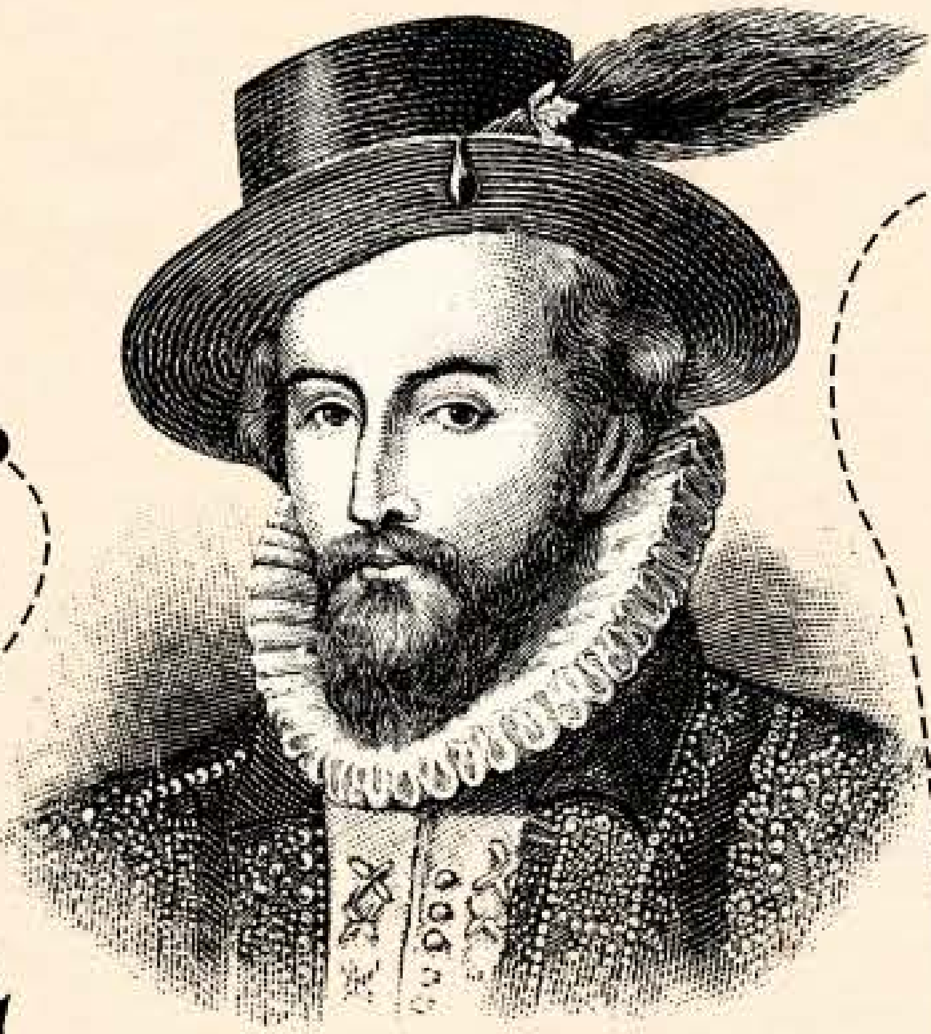
BRITISH 7 NOV 1728 - 14 FEB 1779

A military man turned explorer who met his end in the new worlds he discovered

Explored: Hawaii
Also: Saint Lawrence River (Canada/United States).

Much like Columbus and Marco Polo, captain James Cook's name is synonymous with early exploration. He began his career as a teenager when he joined the Merchant Navy, seeing action in many naval clashes of the Seven Years War. Cook then used his experiencing charting the Saint Lawrence River during the Siege of Quebec to gain the command of three expeditions around the world. Cook's travels also brought him to the island of Hawaii, where his expert cartography skills enabled him to chart the islands with a detail unrivalled by his peers. He died during a clash with native Hawaiians during this third major voyage in 1779.





Sir Walter Raleigh

ENGLISH 1554-1618

Poet, soldier, courtier, spy, explorer

Explored: North Carolina, South Carolina
Also: Georgia, Florida (United States)

Perhaps one of the most famous explorers save Columbus himself, Sir Walter Raleigh gained favour in the court of Elizabeth I, with his many fabled bounties of treasure and exotic items typifying the Golden Age of the monarch's reign. Following years of war with France and Spain, English merchants were now pushing farther afield into Asia, Africa and the New World. As well as being famous for his pursuit of El Dorado (the City of Gold), Raleigh was instrumental in the English colonisation of North America. In the late-1580s, Elizabeth granted Raleigh a royal patent to explore the New World in the name of the English Crown.

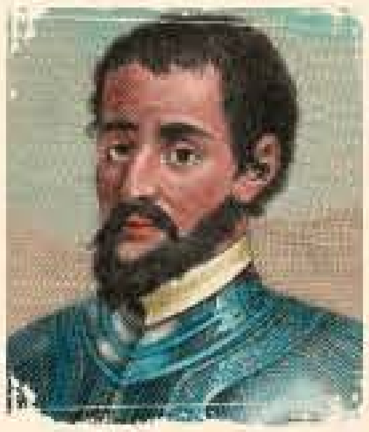
Claude-Jean Allouez

FRENCH 1622-1689

A passionate zealot who explored the New World

Explored: Wisconsin
Also: Michigan, Indiana (United States)

Born in France, Allouez was a Jesuit missionary who travelled to Canada in order to help solidify a series of missions in the region. As part of his religious journey, Allouez regularly came into contact with members of native tribes, which eventually led him south into the future United States. His initial work setting up a number of missions in Wisconsin also coincided with his travels down the Mississippi River. His extensive and detailed notes of the areas he explored helped the French crown to later claim the Great Lakes for themselves.



Hernando de Soto

SPANISH, 1497-1542

This conquistador plundered the South for riches

Explored: Florida
Also: Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas (United States)

Much like English seafarer Henry Hudson, the Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto initially stumbled upon North America while sailing for China. He had set voyage for the East in search of treasure for the financially precarious Spanish Crown, but instead found a land rich with gold and silver deposits, lush and untamed. While he is most famous for having the first documented crossing of the Mississippi River by a foreigner, his expeditions took him to Oklahoma, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

David Thompson

BRITISH-CANADIAN 1770-1857

The "greatest land geographer that ever lived"

Explored: Nevada
Also: British Columbia, Alberta (Canada); Oregon, Montana, Wyoming.

The Westminster-born Thompson headed south from Canada into the wilderness of North America and began uncovering its secrets. Over a career that lasted most of his life, Thompson managed to map a staggering 3.9 million square kilometres (1.5 million square miles) of topography across the Frontier. He started his project around 1793 with his expeditions into the Rocky Mountains, before creating a detailed map of trading posts across the region, including Montana and Idaho. Among other things, the explorer has a highway named after him in Canada.

The Pilgrims before Plymouth

18 On the trail
How the Pilgrims found their way to Holland before their journey to America

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How a single act of defiance sparked a wildfire of destruction and religious reform that swept through Europe and changed the world forever

22 England's Reformation
This is the story of the most extraordinary, turbulent, creative, destructive, transformative century in English history

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Behind the man considered to be the father of the Pilgrims

30 The rise of King James
Was the new Stuart king really the reason the Pilgrims left England for the New World?

36 Life in Holland
For the Separatists, life did not turn out to be greener on the other side of the fence

SEVERNAJA
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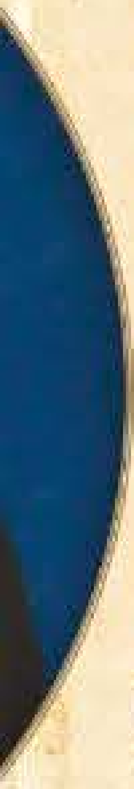

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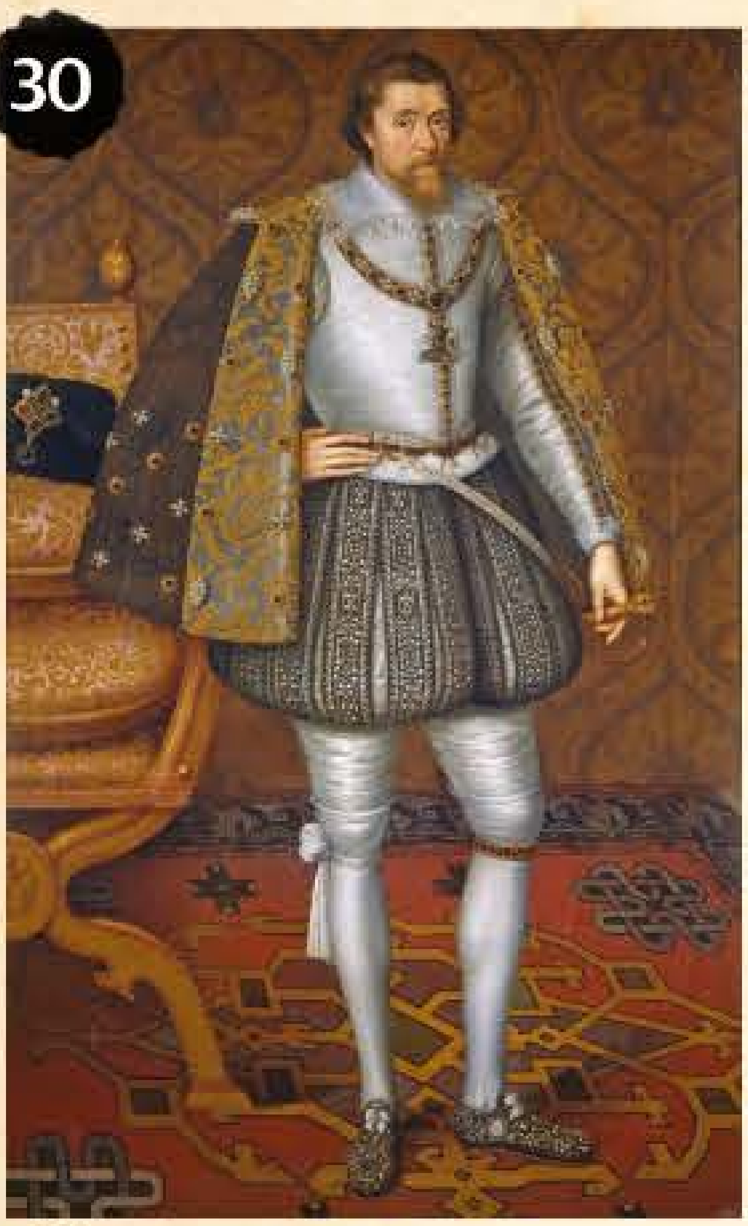

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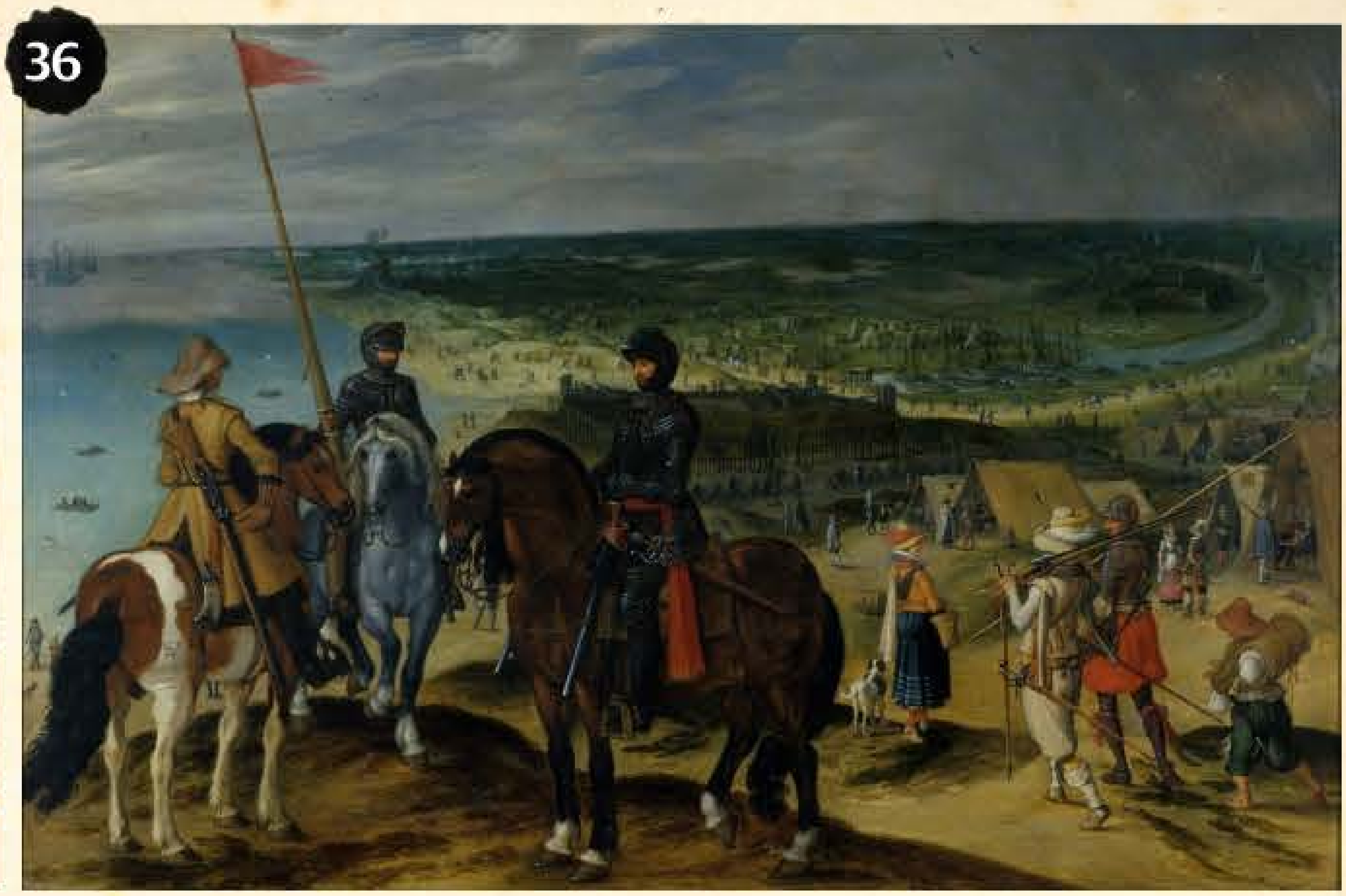

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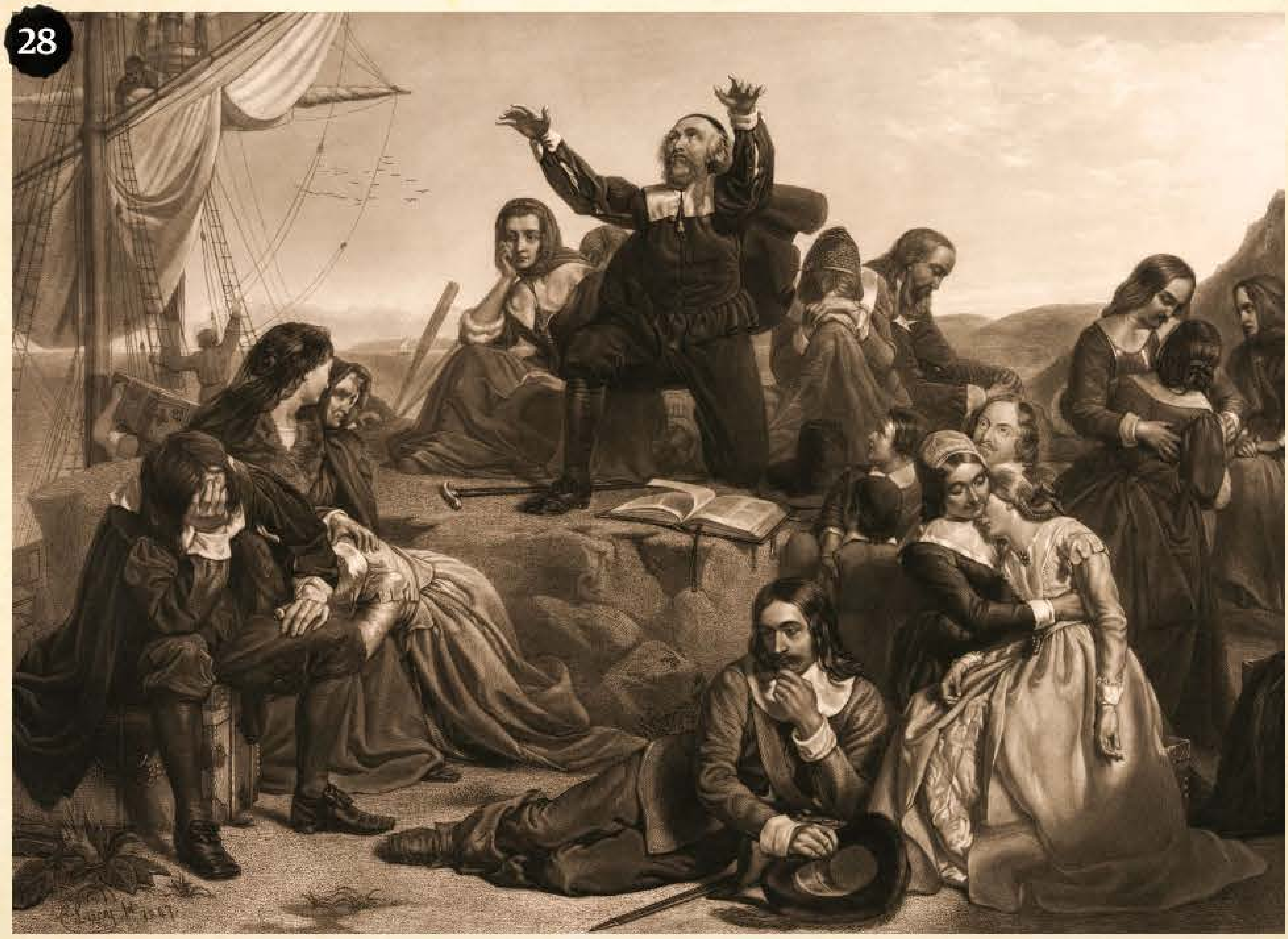
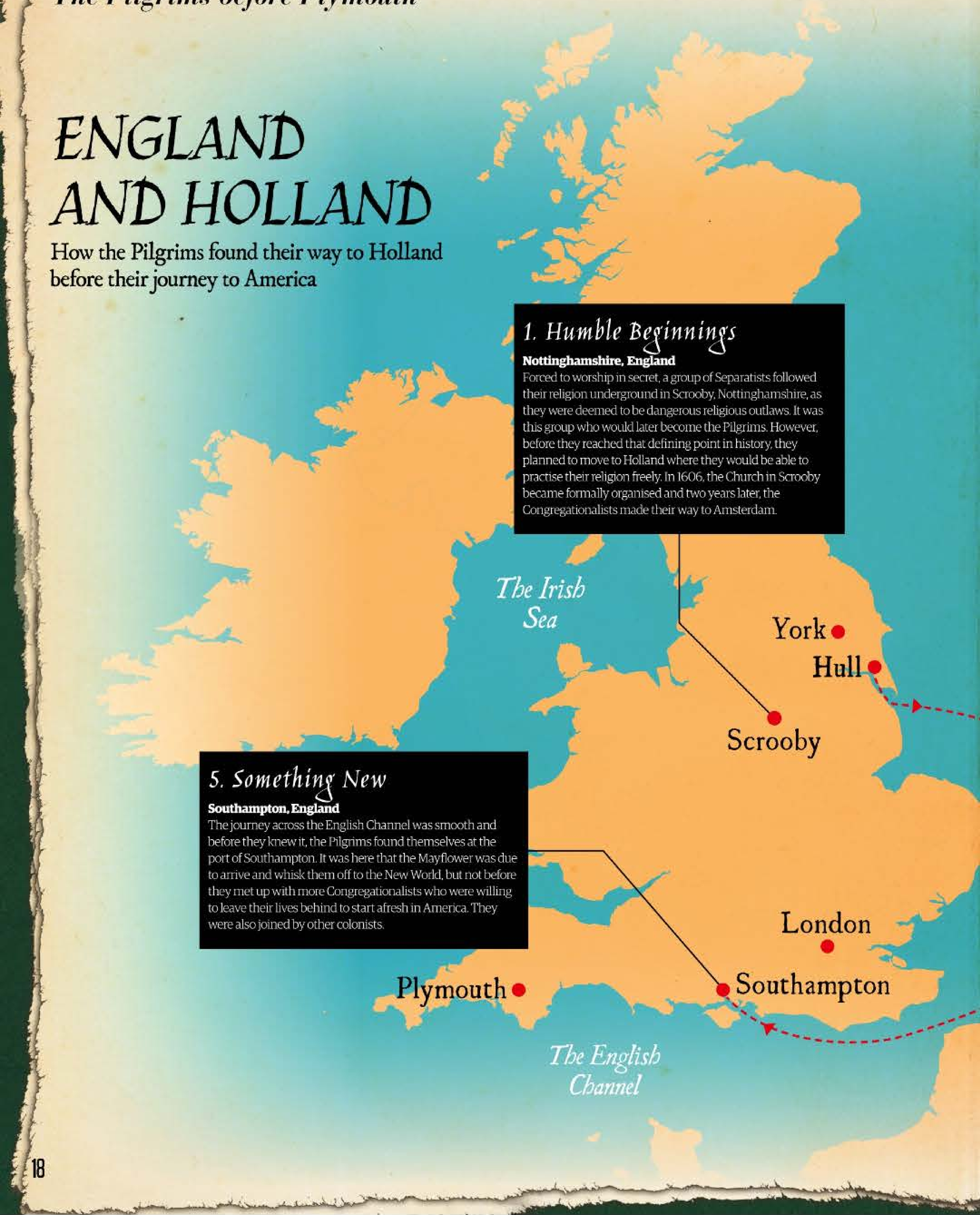


ENGLAND AND HOLLAND

How the Pilgrims found their way to Holland before their journey to America



1. Humble Beginnings

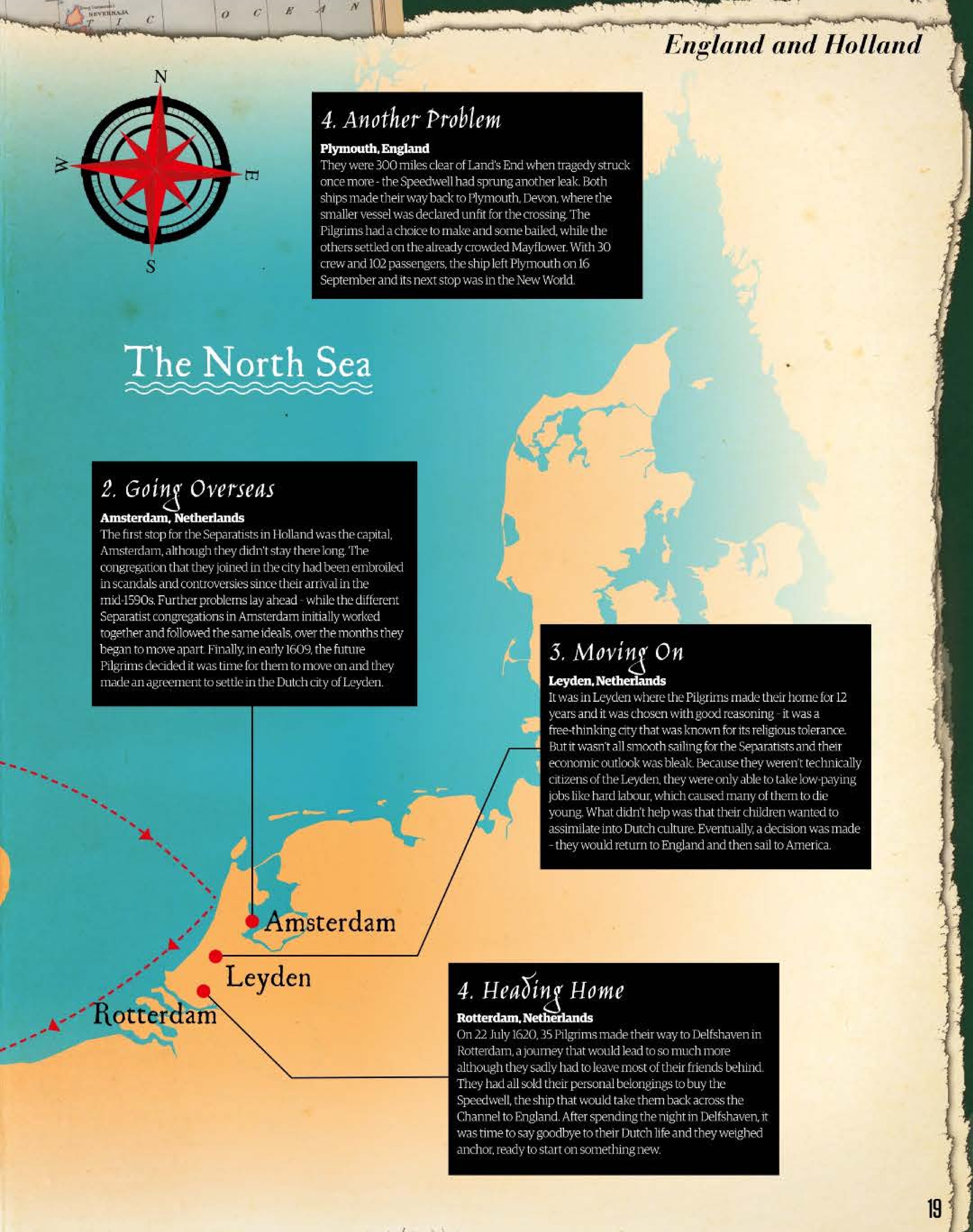
Nottinghamshire, England

Forced to worship in secret, a group of Separatists followed their religion underground in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, as they were deemed to be dangerous religious outlaws. It was this group who would later become the Pilgrims. However, before they reached that defining point in history, they planned to move to Holland where they would be able to practise their religion freely. In 1606, the Church in Scrooby became formally organised and two years later, the Congregationalists made their way to Amsterdam.

5. Something New

Southampton, England

The journey across the English Channel was smooth and before they knew it, the Pilgrims found themselves at the port of Southampton. It was here that the Mayflower was due to arrive and whisk them off to the New World, but not before they met up with more Congregationalists who were willing to leave their lives behind to start afresh in America. They were also joined by other colonists.



4. Another Problem

Plymouth, England

They were 300 miles clear of Land's End when tragedy struck once more - the Speedwell had sprung another leak. Both ships made their way back to Plymouth, Devon, where the smaller vessel was declared unfit for the crossing. The Pilgrims had a choice to make and some bailed, while the others settled on the already crowded Mayflower. With 30 crew and 102 passengers, the ship left Plymouth on 16 September and its next stop was in the New World.

2. Going Overseas

Amsterdam, Netherlands

The first stop for the Separatists in Holland was the capital, Amsterdam, although they didn't stay there long. The congregation that they joined in the city had been embroiled in scandals and controversies since their arrival in the mid-1590s. Further problems lay ahead - while the different Separatist congregations in Amsterdam initially worked together and followed the same ideals, over the months they began to move apart. Finally, in early 1609, the future Pilgrims decided it was time for them to move on and they made an agreement to settle in the Dutch city of Leyden.

3. Moving On

Leyden, Netherlands

It was in Leyden where the Pilgrims made their home for 12 years and it was chosen with good reasoning - it was a free-thinking city that was known for its religious tolerance. But it wasn't all smooth sailing for the Separatists and their economic outlook was bleak. Because they weren't technically citizens of the Leyden, they were only able to take low-paying jobs like hard labour, which caused many of them to die young. What didn't help was that their children wanted to assimilate into Dutch culture. Eventually, a decision was made - they would return to England and then sail to America.

4. Heading Home

Rotterdam, Netherlands

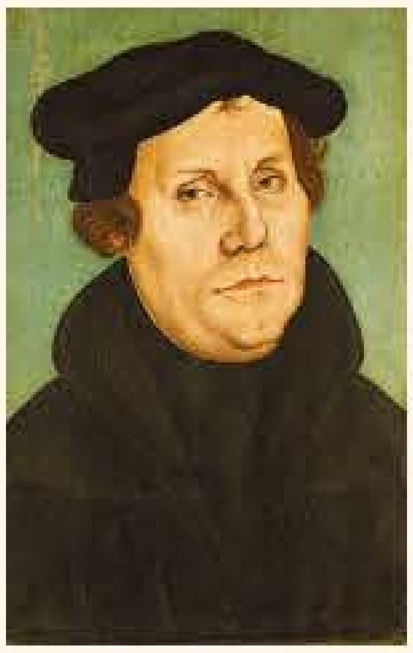
On 22 July 1620, 35 Pilgrims made their way to Delfshaven in Rotterdam, a journey that would lead to so much more although they sadly had to leave most of their friends behind. They had all sold their personal belongings to buy the Speedwell, the ship that would take them back across the Channel to England. After spending the night in Delfshaven, it was time to say goodbye to their Dutch life and they weighed anchor, ready to start on something new.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

How a single act of defiance sparked a wildfire of destruction and religious reform that swept through Europe and changed the world forever

Martin Luther's Defiance

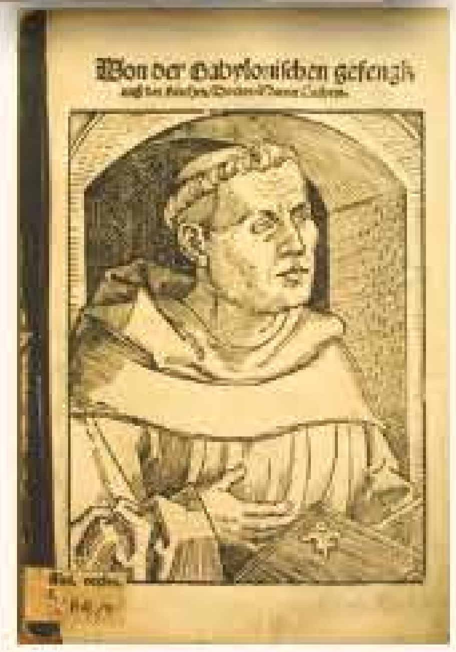
Luther posts his 95 theses on the church door in Wittenberg in protest at some of the Church's practices, including the sale of indulgences as a means of raising money.



1517

A Collision Course with Rome

Luther publishes and circulates a damning pamphlet in which he discusses the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, as well as openly criticising both the Church and the Pope.



1520

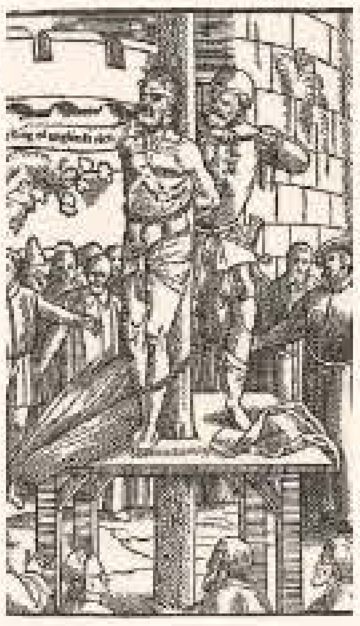
The Act of Supremacy

Henry VIII instructs Thomas Cromwell to push through an act to make him Head of the Church in England. All ties with Rome are broken.

1534

The Ultimate Sacrifice

Thomas More refuses to accept Henry as Head of the Church and is executed. William Tyndale is found guilty of heresy for his Bible translation and burned at the stake.



1535-6

Dissolution of the Monasteries

Took

4 YEARS

to complete

A total of about

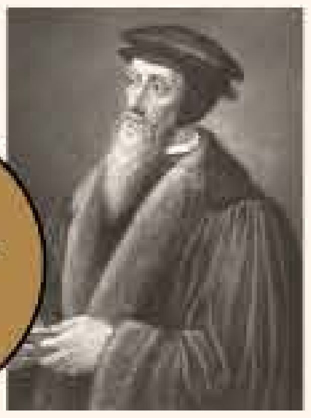
376

For all monasteries with a revenue of less than £200 per year

1536

John Calvin

John Calvin publishes his version of reform, Institutes of the Christian Religion. The Catholic Church is now under attack from different factions of reformers with very differing views.

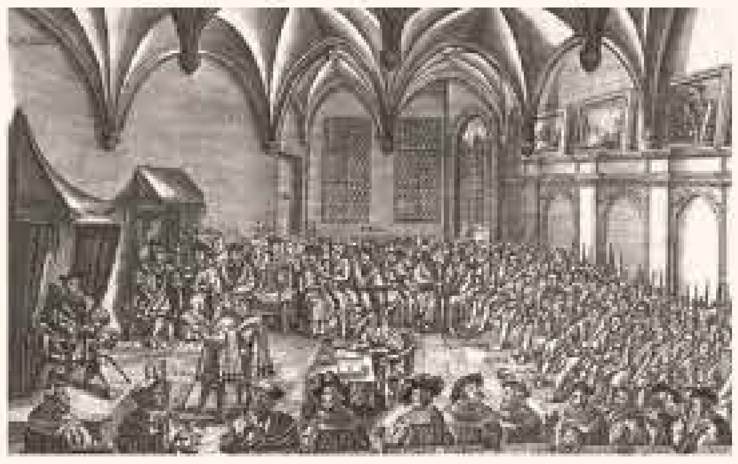


After being tied to a stake, Tyndale was strangled before being burned

1536

The Peace of Augsburg

This treaty ends conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Schmalkaldic League of Lutheran Princes. Lutheranism is to be tolerated and on track to becoming properly recognised in Europe.



1555

Protestantism Comes to Scotland

John Knox, a staunch follower of Calvin, is central to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. England returns to Protestantism under Elizabeth I following Mary I's Catholic reign.

1559

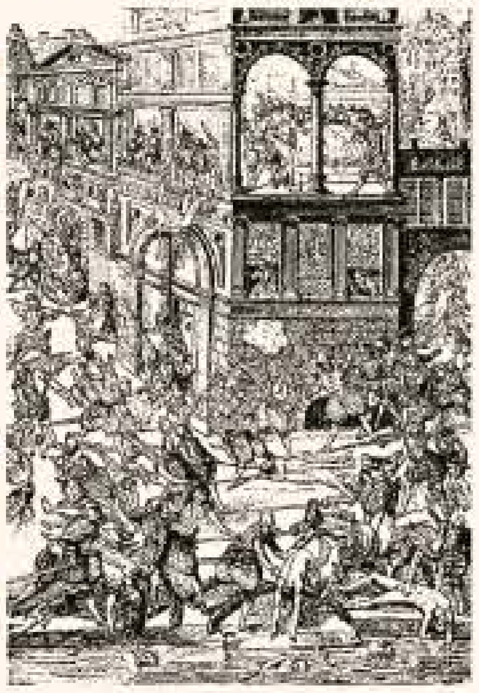
France at War with itself

The French Religious Wars are actually EIGHT individual conflicts

XXXXXXXX

As many as 4,000 Huguenots are executed at one time

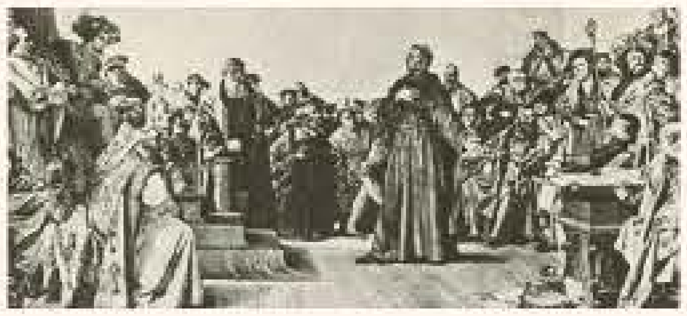
By the time the Edict of Nantes ends the conflict nearly 4 MILLION



1562-1598

The Diet of Worms

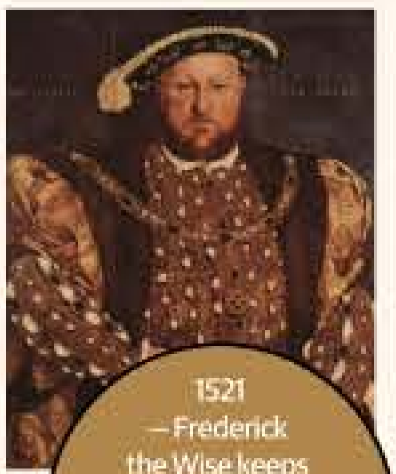
Summoned to answer questions before the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Luther's actions are deemed unacceptable and he is condemned as a heretic. He is excommunicated by the Pope.



1521

Henry VIII Attacks Luther

In answer to Luther's attack on the Church, Henry writes his own pamphlet Septem Sacramentorum, defending the Catholic Church. A grateful Pope gives Henry the title 'Defender of the Faith'.



1521 – Frederick the Wise keeps Luther inside Wartburg Castle, hoping this will lower his popularity

1521

A Question of Numbers

Martin Luther challenges the **7** sacraments of the Church

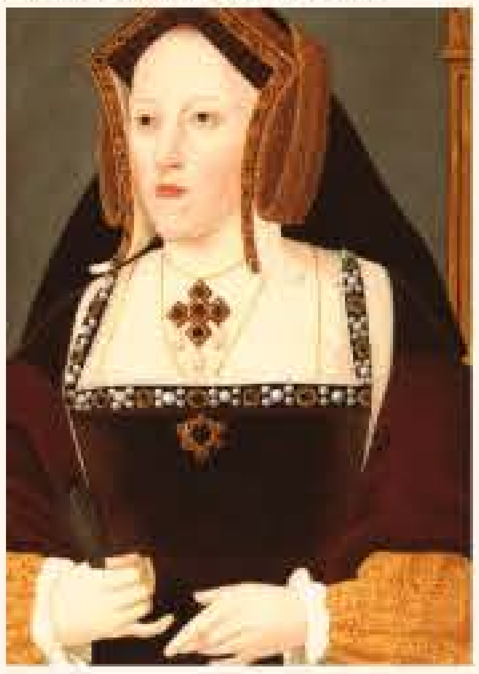
Calvin sets out **5** principles of theology

The Augsburg Confession consists of **28** ARTICLES of Lutheran Doctrine presented to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V

1517-1536

Henry Excommunicated

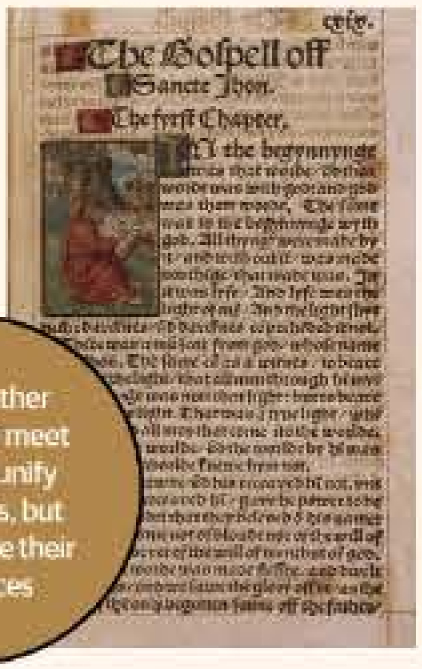
Following his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII begins his own path of action in direct conflict with the Pope. Despite being called a 'Defender of the Faith', he is excommunicated by the Pope.



1533

Tyndale's Bible Published

In direct conflict with the Catholic Church's practice of services in Latin, William Tyndale publishes the first English translation. Those able to read can now question the wording and the Church's authority.



cxix.

The Gospell off Sancte Jhon.

The fyrst Chapter.

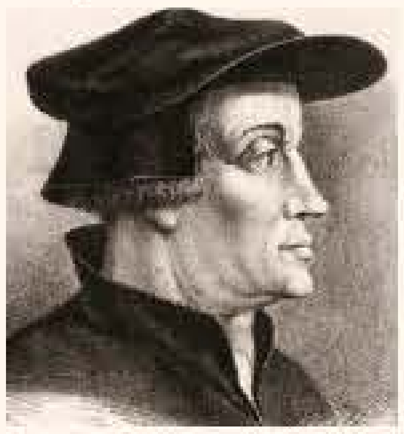
In the begynnynge

1529 – Luther and Zwingli meet to try and unify Protestants, but cannot agree their differences

1526

Anabaptist Movement is Born

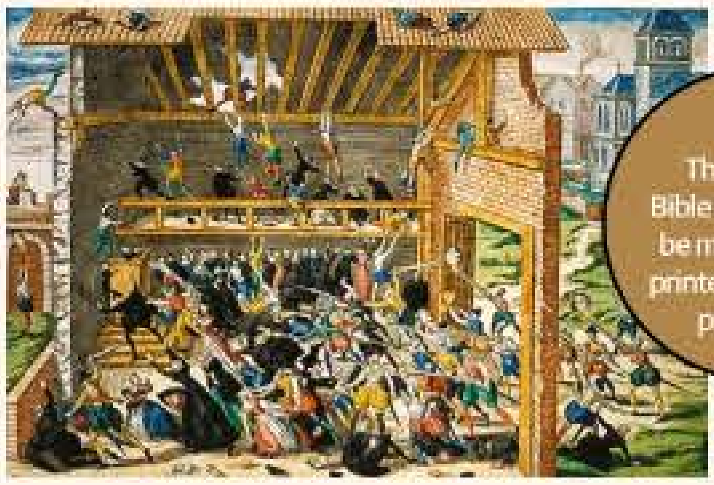
Inspired by Luther's dissent, the Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli forms the Anabaptists, denouncing the doctrine of baptism in children and advocating for adult baptisms when they are old enough to confess their sins.



1525

The Edict of Nantes

Following the persecution of the Protestant Huguenots, King Henry IV of France grants them religious toleration. It brings civil order but is revoked by Henry's grandson, Louis, in 1685.



1560 – The Geneva Bible is the first to be mechanically printed and mass-produced

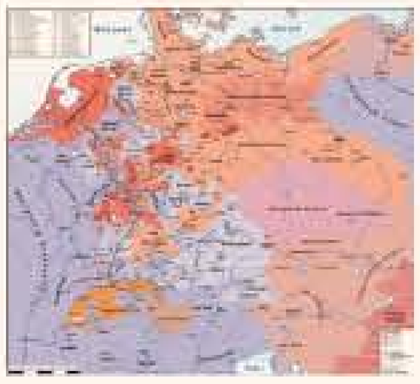
1598

The Thirty Years' War

29 YEARS, 11 MONTHS, 3 WEEKS & 1 DAY

Between **25-40%** of the German population are killed

The Holy Roman Empire consists of approximately **1,000** semi-autonomous states

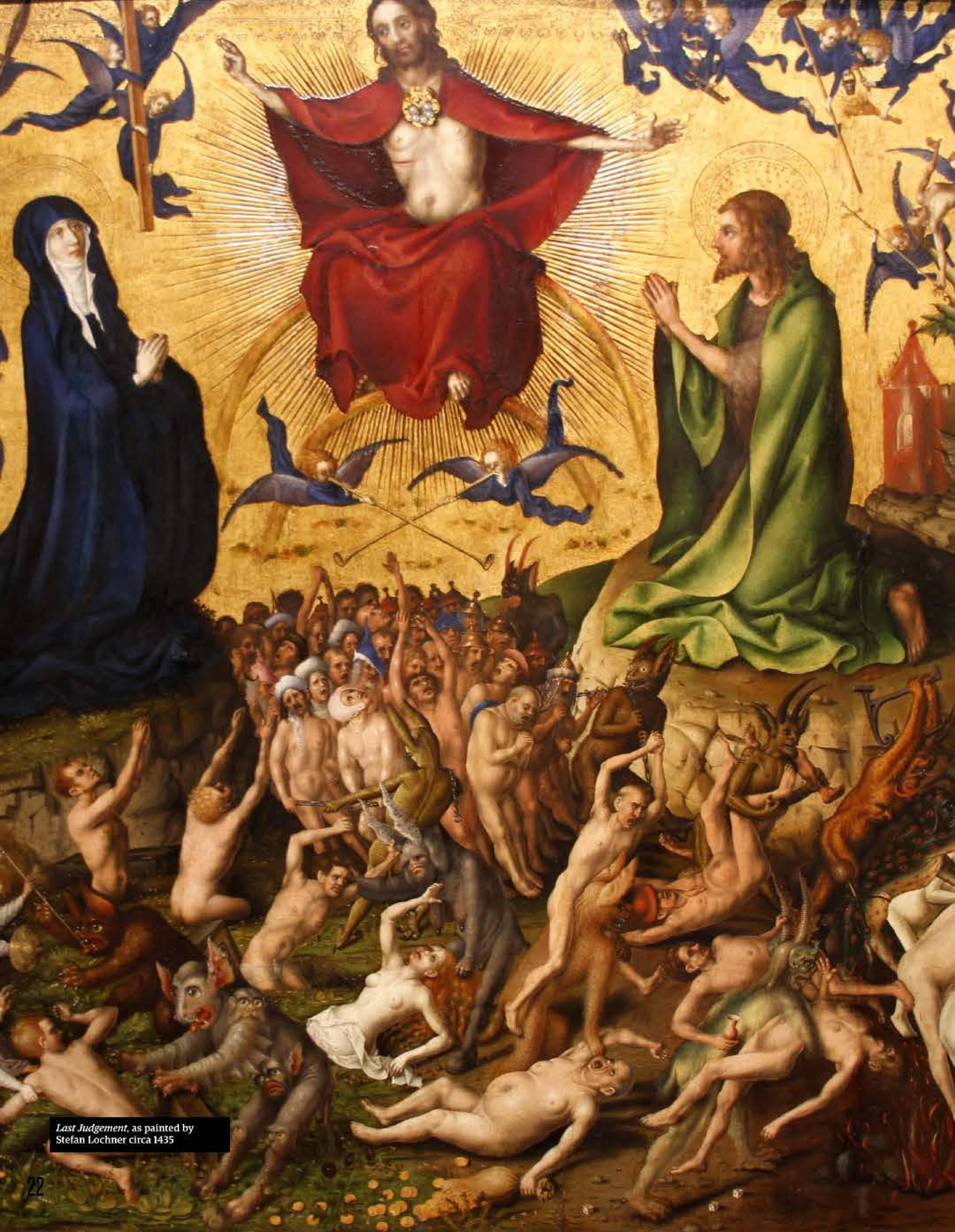


1618-1648

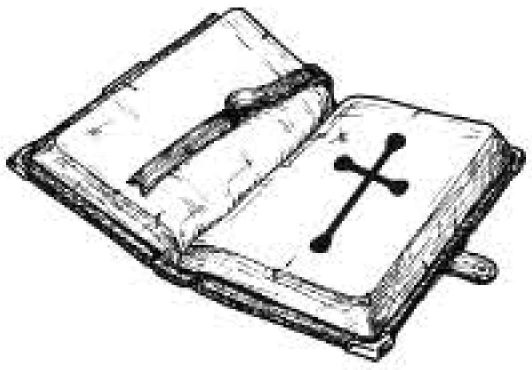
Thirty Years' War Ends

The Treaty of Westphalia ends a destructive conflict between Catholics and Protestants from across Europe – mainly in Germany. It changes the European map and religious tolerance forever.

1648



Last Judgement, as painted by Stefan Lochner circa 1435



England's Reformation

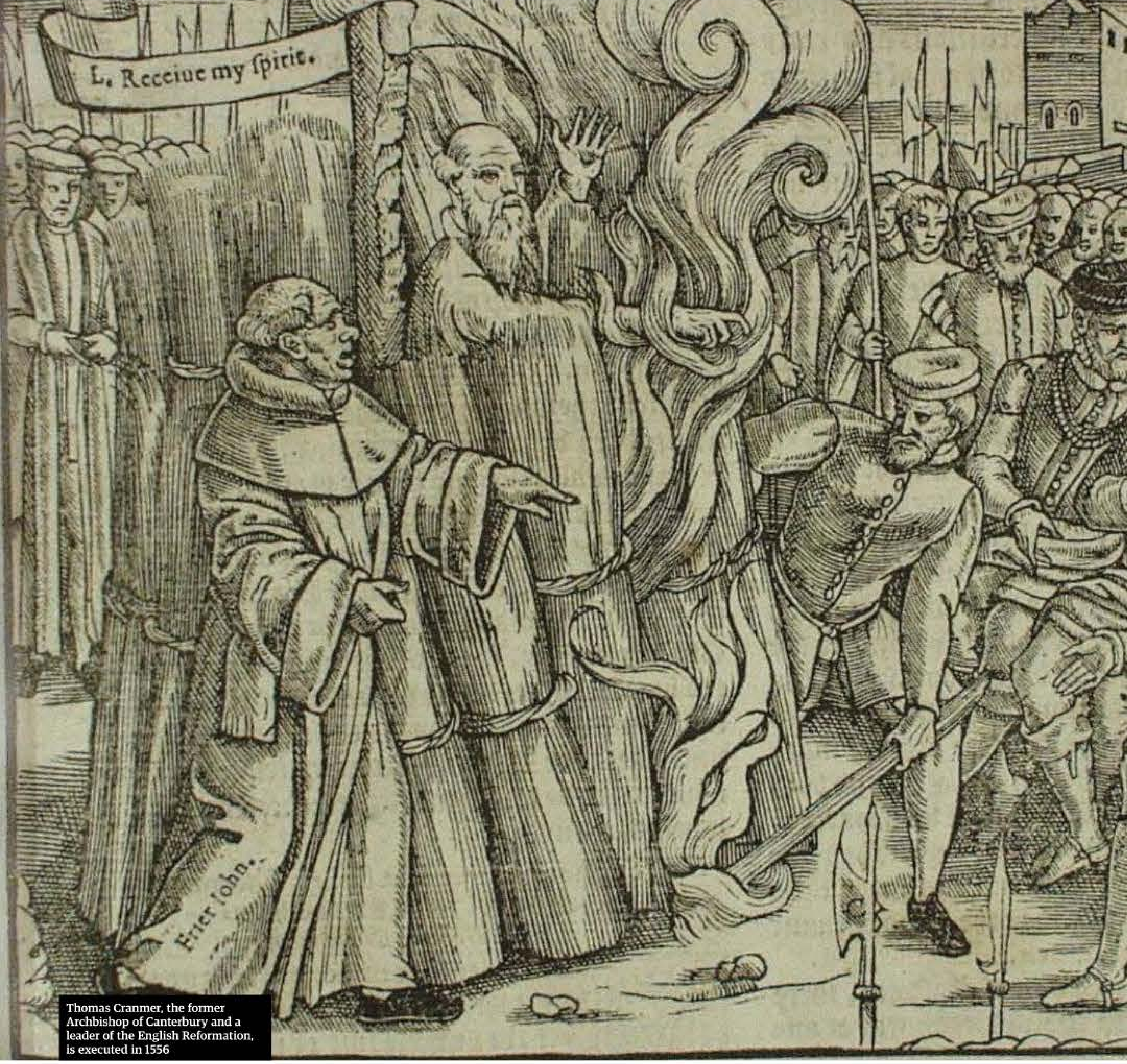
WORDS BY: *Derek Wilson*

This is the story of the most extraordinary, turbulent, creative, destructive, transformative century in English history

At the Battle of Bosworth Field on 22 August 1485 Henry Tudor, a Welsh upstart distantly related to the Lancastrian king Henry VI, defeated and killed the Yorkist occupant of the throne. No one had any reason to believe this was the last clash in what a later age called The Wars of the Roses. Indeed, the new king, Henry VII, spent much of his reign fighting off challenges from rival claimants. For the next century, his son and grandchildren would be haunted by the spectre of a premature end to their dynasty. There was a fundamental insecurity felt, at the very least, by those who had a stake in the political life of the nation. But there were other eerie forces at work.

The strongest of those was the communications revolution. Today we are very aware of the social changes wrought by computer technology. Around the time of the Battle of Bosworth the invention of the movable-type printing press made possible the mass production of books, which hitherto had been laboriously hand-written. There were at least five major aspects of the revolution to which this led: the rapid spread of information and ideas; the growing demand for education; the development of vernacular languages (before this almost all books had been in Latin, the lingua franca of scholars); the closing of the gap between clergy and laity; and the focus of religious life on the written word rather than the painted, carved or sculpted image.

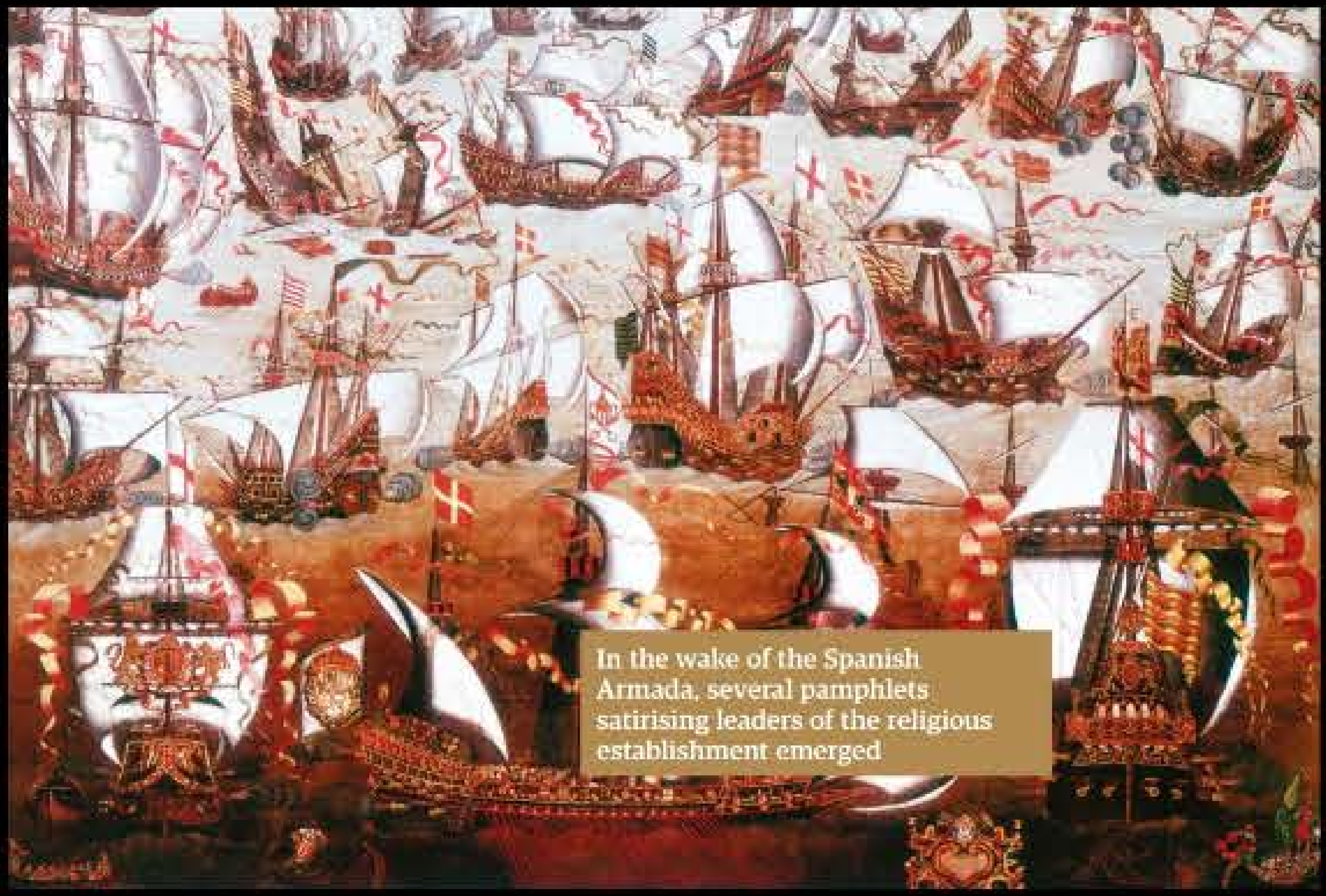
Traditional religious observance for most lay people in the 15th century centred on the sacraments and particularly attendance at mass. This re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice was performed by the officiating priest on behalf of the congregation, whose involvement was largely passive. Since the liturgy was in Latin it is unlikely that most parishioners actually understood the subtleties of Christian doctrine. They very rarely heard sermons and most clergy were, in fact, ill-equipped to deliver them. This is not to say that Englishmen as a whole were indifferent to spiritual commitment. They attended confession. They belonged to guilds responsible for the maintenance of altars and chapels. They paid for masses to be said for the repose of their souls and those of their loved ones. If their imagination was stirred it was largely by material objects. Worshippers venerated crucifixes as well as statues of the Virgin Mary and other saints. They made pilgrimages to shrines where holy relics


L. Receiue my ſpirit.
Frier John.

Thomas Cranmer, the former Archbishop of Canterbury and a leader of the English Reformation, is executed in 1556

were housed, such as saints' bones, fragments of the true cross and other personal items related to Christ or other holy figures. They sought the intercessions of saints when they were sick or in any other adversity. But probably the objects that impacted most strongly and frequently on worshippers were the painted images with which church walls were crowded. Biblical scenes were mingled with illustrations of incidents from Church history and others whose only origin was popular legend. However, the most compelling image in most buildings and the one displayed most prominently was the 'doom', a representation of Christ the Judge, receiving some souls into heaven and dispatching others to Hell. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was concern for their ultimate destiny that kept most people obedient to the Church. Even so, there is clear evidence of anticlericalism and heresy. Scepticism and downright hostility extended from alehouse mockery to popular literature such as *Ship of Fools* by the German Sebastian Brant, a best-selling satire translated into English in 1509. Even many bishops were angry with the poor quality of the clergy, many of whom were ill-educated, incompetent and, in some cases, immoral. But none of this struck at the doctrinal roots of the Church.

The people who did that were the Lollards. The name, of Dutch origin, was used to describe people of varied unorthodox views who 'mumbled' or 'lolled' their opinions. They gathered in small, scattered communities, mostly in southern England. They had two major beliefs in common. One was a rejection of transubstantiation – the philosophical basis of the mass which claimed that, by the act of consecration, a priest actually changed bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ. By claiming that the sacramental elements were merely symbolising Christ's presence Lollards struck at the 'magical' power that separated priests from ordinary mortals. The other was their commitment to the English Bible. Back in 1408, English Church leaders had banned unauthorised translation of the Latin Vulgate into English because they feared the spread of the 'heresies' of John Wycliffe, a 14th-century Oxford don who had challenged aspects of Catholic



In the wake of the Spanish Armada, several pamphlets satirising leaders of the religious establishment emerged

The Marprelate Tracts

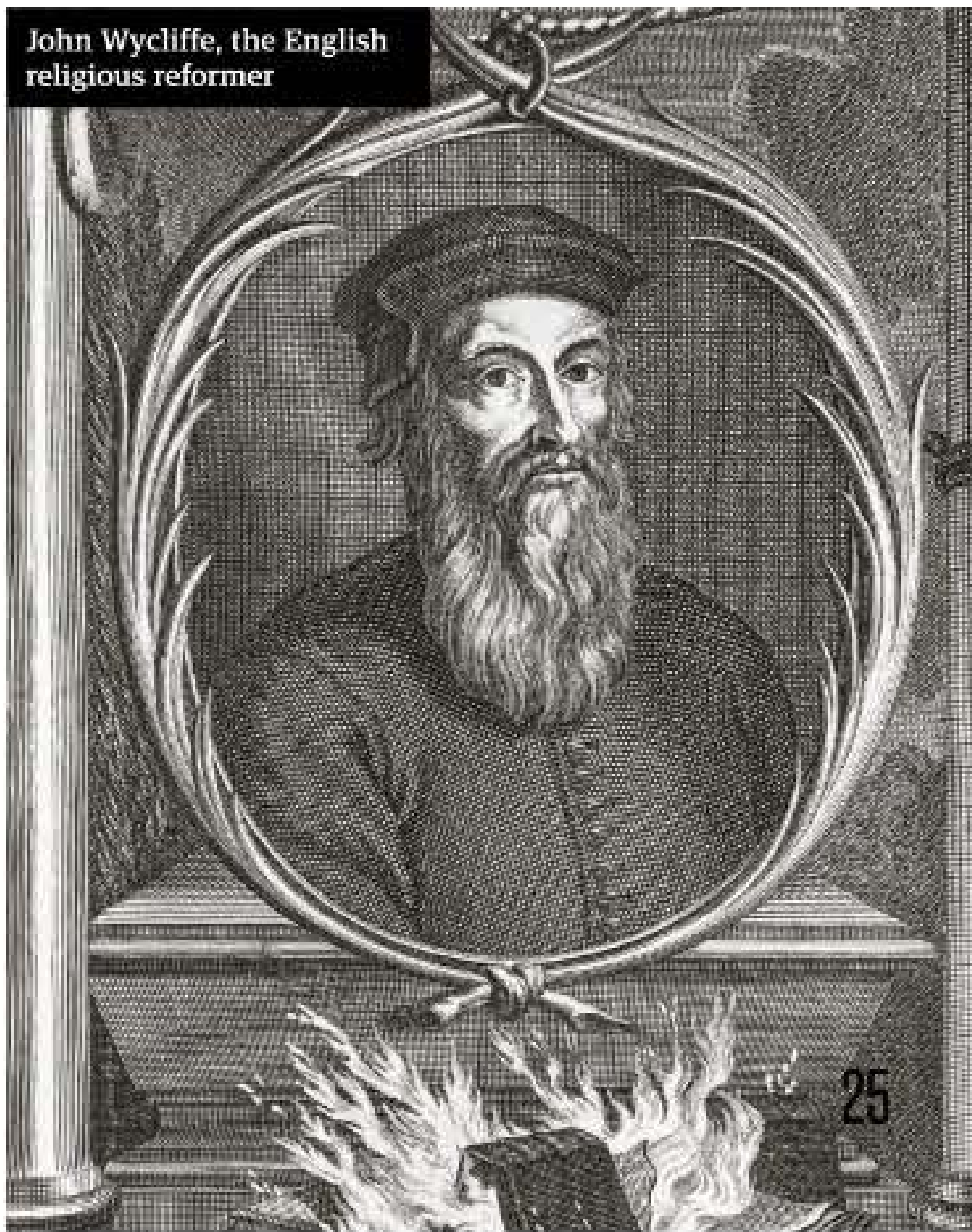
In the aftermath of the Spanish Armada's defeat the religious debate turned nasty

In the autumn of 1588 the ragged remnants of Philip II's invasion fleet were making their way home via the waters off Scotland and Ireland. The English were ecstatic at this victory over the forces of militant Roman Catholicism. Cashing in on this euphoria was an anonymous pamphlet which now appeared on the bookstalls – *An Epistle to the Terrible Priests of the Convocation House*. The anonymous author wrote under the name 'Martin Marprelate' and he laid into the bishops with biting satire. The publishers worked from a press in Essex, their objective to undermine the leaders of the religious establishment, 'that swinish rabble of petty antichrists, petty popes, proud prelates, intolerable withstanders of reformation and enemies of the gospel'. The government tried to sniff out the ringleaders and employed popular playwrights to respond in kind. But Marprelate's co-conspirators moved to the Midlands and transported the press from place to place. As for the ripostes, they only kept the controversy in the public eye. Seven Marprelate Tracts were published over the next few months before the press was shut down and not until 1593 were three of the main offenders (not including Marprelate) hanged. The Marprelate Tracts widened the breach between the official English Church and the Presbyterian 'church within a church'. Many Puritan leaders distanced themselves from the pamphleteers but the stigma of sedition stuck and many radicals felt their only course was to leave the country.

teaching, claiming biblical support, and had set in hand an Englished version of the Vulgate. Over the next century, members of his sect had completed his work and these Lollards, in their secret meetings, studied the Bible together, convinced its authority outranked that of the Pope. The Lollards were a small minority who, for the most part, kept a low profile. From time to time, the bishops launched campaigns against them, but without much effect.

Most Lollards came from the humbler strands of society – artisans and semi-educated tradespeople. By the early-16th century their unconventional thinking was running parallel with the Renaissance humanism embraced by many of the intellectual elite. Basic to the new approach was a reappraisal of classical authors and a challenge to 'scholasticism', the educational methodology of the medieval Church. In terms of the wider religious life of Europe, there were two developments causing fundamental rethinking. One was a revived interest in Ancient Greek. This sent scholars back to early New Testament documents (some recently discovered) and suggested that the Latin Vulgate, basic to all Church teaching, was capable of being re-interpreted. The other development, as the term 'humanism' suggests, was a new emphasis on humanity – life in the here and now, as opposed to life in the hereafter.

All these subtle changes were straining the fabric of medieval religious life. Therefore, when in 1516, the German monk Martin Luther made a frontal assault on basic Catholic doctrine, parts of the structure collapsed with remarkable rapidity. Luther suggested the Greek biblical word rendered by the Vulgate as 'do penance', should really be translated as 'repent'. This and other challenges gave power to the individual to determine their relationship with God



John Wycliffe, the English religious reformer

> "Unfortunately, the new monarch, Elizabeth I did not share their vision. She inherited a kingdom divided on matters of religion"

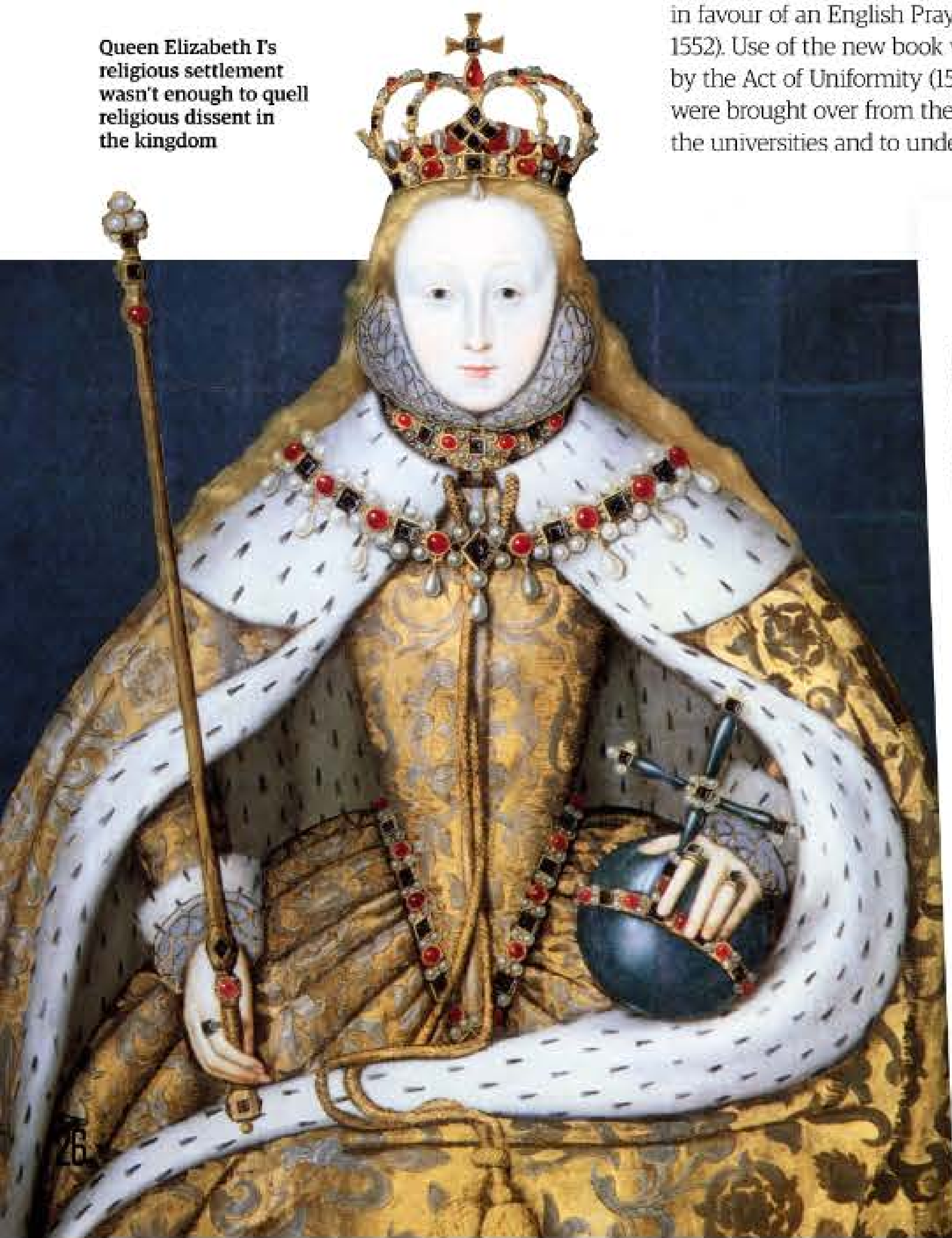
and undercut the power of a mediating priesthood. Ten years later an Oxford scholar, William Tyndale, defied the authorities by publishing an English New Testament. This rapidly became the most explosive book in the nation's history - partly because of its Lutheran glosses. Though banned, it was widely read, and though some people were burned at the stake for possessing it, nothing stopped its spread or its influence. The English Reformation was well and truly under way.

Nothing would have stopped it, but political action by King Henry VIII strengthened its impact. At the same time that Tyndale's book began circulating, Henry fell out with the Pope. Determined to end his marriage to his queen, he looked to Rome for an annulment. But, for various reasons, the Pope was unable to gratify his request. After years of mounting acrimony, Parliament passed an Act of Supremacy in 1534. This established the King and not the Pope as the spiritual head of the English Church, which in effect became a state department. To strengthen his position and minimise the threat of Catholic backlash, Henry had to win the support of radicals and employ some of them in the government's propaganda campaign of preaching and writing. His principal agent in achieving this and the man put in charge of religious policy was Thomas Cromwell, someone who, as historians are now recognising, was a convinced Protestant (though the word would not be used in England during Henry's reign). Cromwell oversaw the dismantling of English monasticism and established close links with Protestant states abroad. Though a reactionary court coup had Cromwell removed from power and executed in 1540, he had done enough to ensure that supporters of the 'New Learning' were dominant in English political life and assumed control when the nine-year-old Edward VI became king in 1547.

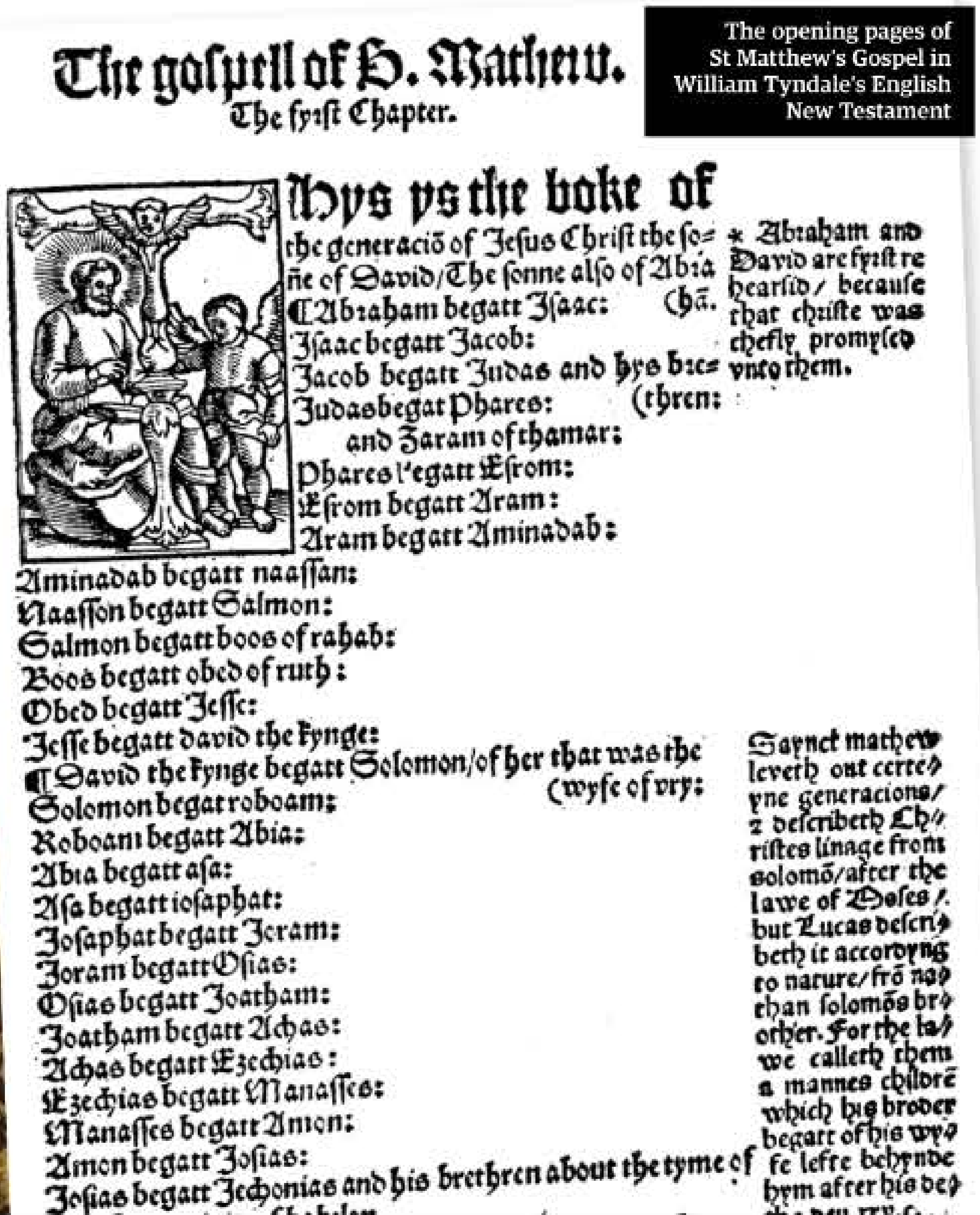
The brief years of Edward's reign (1547-1553) were those in which the Reformation was irrevocably established. The Church, led by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, abolished the mass and other Latin rites in favour of an English Prayer Book (1549, revised 1552). Use of the new book was made mandatory by the Act of Uniformity (1549). Foreign scholars were brought over from the continent to teach in the universities and to undergird the doctrine of the English Church with theology developed in such European centres as Geneva and Zurich. The ties between English radicals and their Swiss and German counterparts were to prove extremely important in the years that followed.

The adolescent King Edward died unmarried and without a direct heir, and was replaced by Henry VIII's elder daughter, Mary. She inadvertently sealed the Reformation by attempting to eradicate it. Determined to reinstate papal authority and Catholic doctrine, she had the religious statutes of her father and half-brother annulled, re-established the mass, purged the Church of bishops and clergy who refused to comply and sent to the stake about 300 Protestant 'heretics'. Although most of her subjects accepted this reversal, a substantial minority did not. Most of these dissidents nursed their real beliefs in secret, but several hundred fled across the Channel and found havens in Geneva, Zurich and other reform centres. This was absolutely crucial to the future of the English Church. In their foreign refuges they adopted the teachings of Protestant leaders such as Jean Calvin in Geneva and Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich. When Mary also died childless after a short reign in 1558, the exiles returned fired up by what they had seen in the well-established Protestant states abroad and encouraged by the blood of the martyrs to set up in their own country a perfect Christian commonwealth.

Unfortunately, the new monarch, Elizabeth I did not share their vision. She inherited a kingdom divided on matters of religion. At one extreme were Catholics who longed for another change of regime which would restore the old faith. Some were recusants - ie people who refused to attend



Queen Elizabeth I's religious settlement wasn't enough to quell religious dissent in the kingdom



The opening pages of St Matthew's Gospel in William Tyndale's English New Testament

The goſpell of S. Mathew.
The fyrſt Chapter.

Thys ys the boke of
the generaciō of Jeſus Chriſt the ſo=
ñe of David/The ſonne alſo of Abra
¶Abraham begatt Iſaac: Chā.
Iſaac begatt Jacob:
Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre=
Judas begat Phares: (thren:
and Zaram of thamar:
Phares begatt Eſrom:
Eſrom begatt Aram:
Aram begatt Aminadab:
Aminadab begatt naaſſan:
Naaſſon begatt Salmon:
Salmon begatt boos of rahab:
Boos begatt obed of ruth:
Obed begatt Jeſſe:
Jeſſe begatt david the kynge:
¶David the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the
(wyfe of vry:
Solomon begat roboam:
Roboam begatt Abia:
Abia begatt aſa:
Aſa begatt ioſaphat:
Joſaphat begatt Joram:
Joram begatt Oſias:
Oſias begatt Joatham:
Joatham begatt Achas:
Achas begatt Ezechias:
Ezechias begatt Manaſſes:
Manaſſes begatt Amon:
Amon begatt Joſias:
Joſias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of

* Abraham and David are fyrſt rehearſid/ becauſe that chriſte was chefly promyſed vnto them.

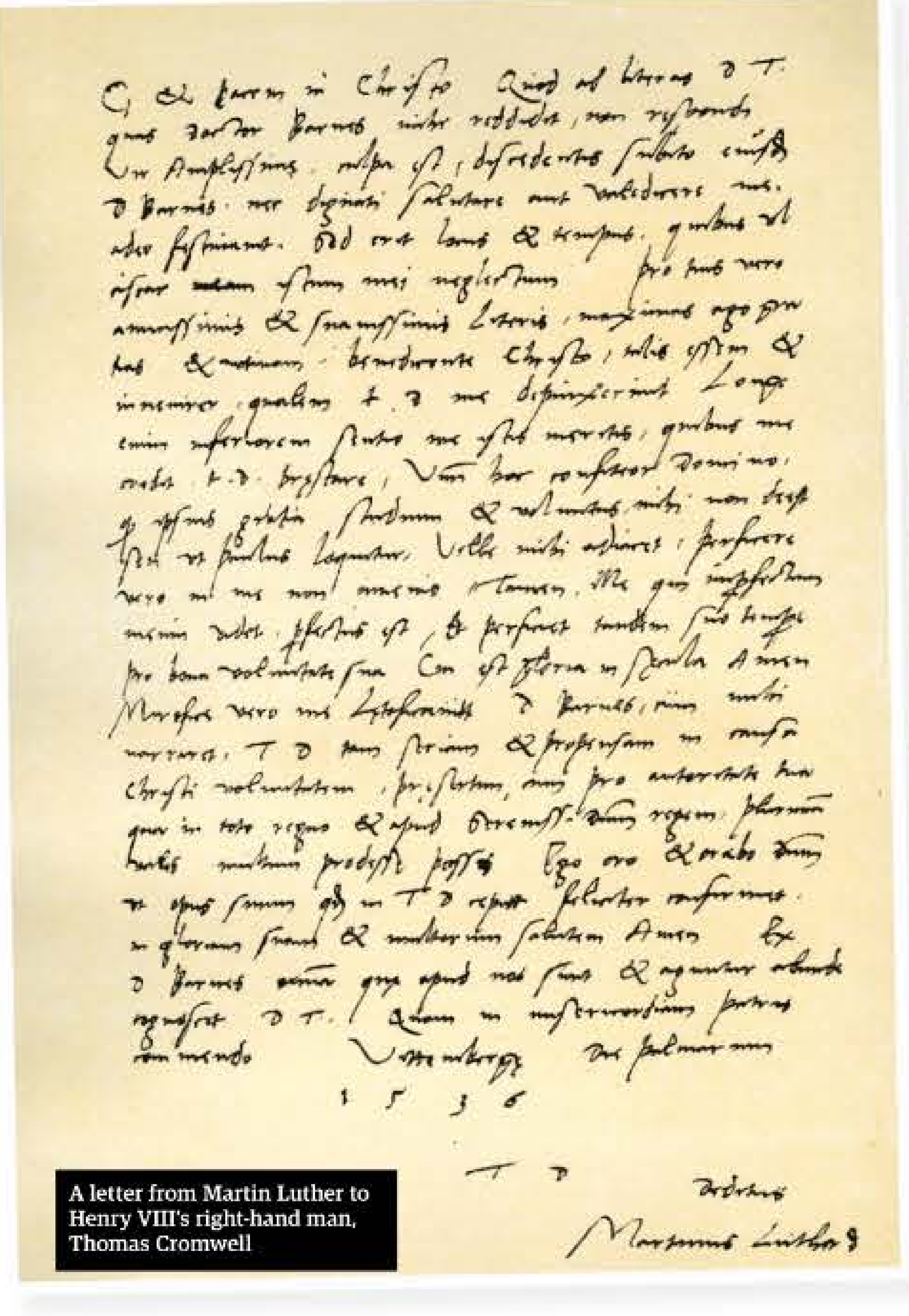
Saynct mathew leveth out certeyne generacions/ & deſcribeth Chriſtes linage from solomō/after the lawe of Moſes/ but Lucas deſcribeth it accordyng to nature/frō nathan ſolomōs brother. For the lawe calleth them a mannes childrē which his broder begatt of his wyfe lefte behynde hym after his deth

Protestant services. They welcomed Catholic priests, smuggled into the country from France and the Low Countries, who celebrated mass for them in secret gatherings. Some plotted the overthrow of the regime, particularly after Pius V issued a papal bull in 1570 which absolved all Catholics from allegiance to the queen. At the other end of the spectrum were the Puritans. They were Protestants holding various doctrinal positions but who looked mainly to an extreme form of Calvinism for their image of the true Church. Several of the returning exiles obtained positions in the restored Protestant Church. They were determined to work within that Church, completing, as they saw it, the work of Reformation.

Elizabeth loathed all the extremists. She was of a moderate Protestant persuasion and liked a measure of ornamentation in church (which the Puritans condemned as papist). She had a new Act of Uniformity passed, which restored the 1552 Prayer Book, with minor alterations (which the Catholics considered to be heretical). The queen's instinct was to exercise as much tolerance as possible, desiring only loyalty and outward conformity from her subjects. The more extreme Puritans regarded this as sinful compromise with the truth as laid down in Scripture. Some ministers refused to wear vestments. Some wanted to abolish the office of bishop and establish a 'presbyterian' form of government such as existed in Geneva and which, as they believed, followed the pattern laid down in the New Testament. Yet what in Elizabeth's eyes was worse was the attitude of some Puritan spokesmen to her royal person. In Geneva the civic rulers were accustomed to being guided and held to account by the ministers. Some returned exiles did not refrain from telling Elizabeth to her face how she ought to behave. In 1576, after such a lecture, she suspended the Archbishop of Canterbury from office.

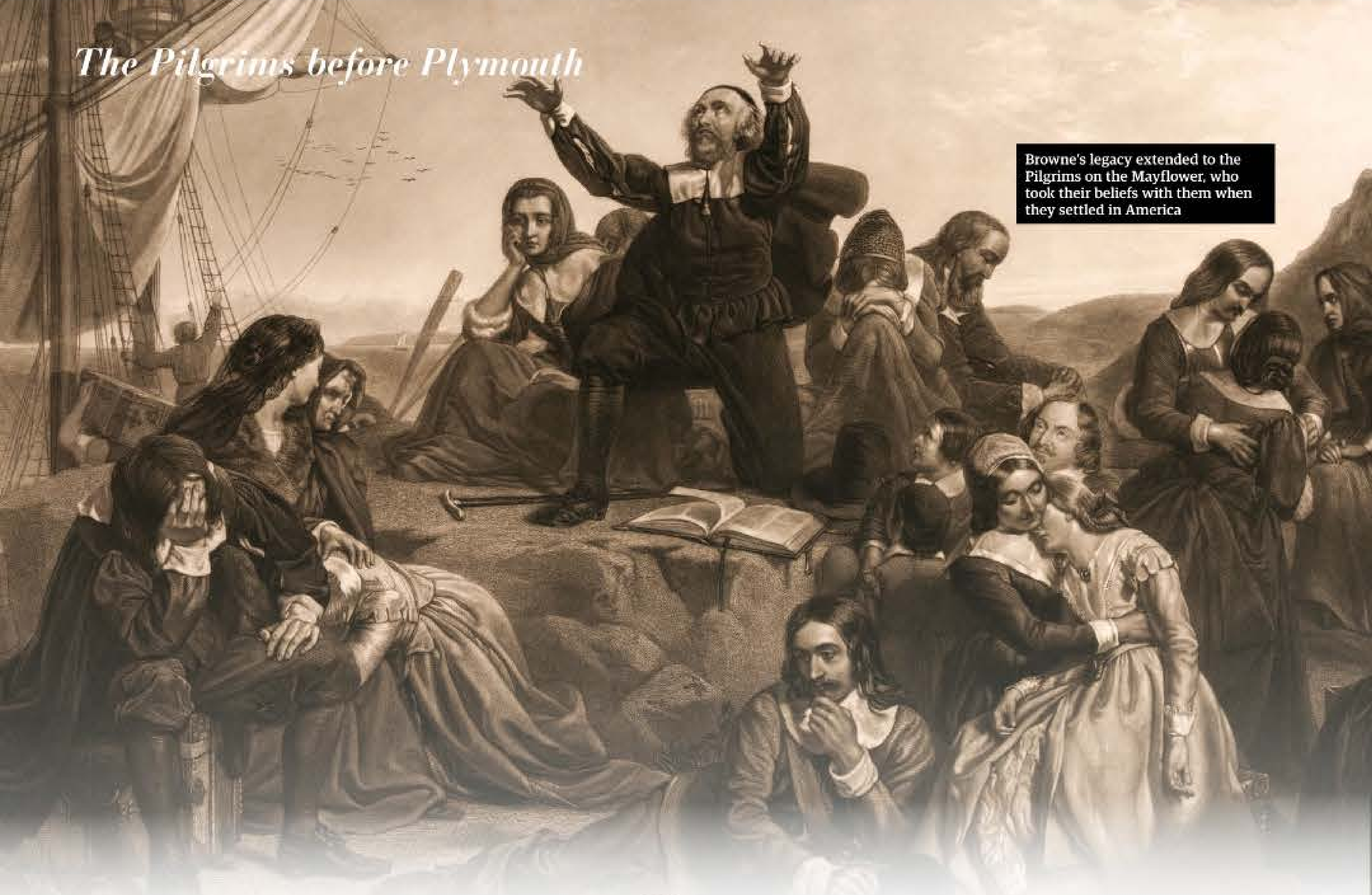
The tensions between the Puritans and the supporters of the established Church became worse with the passing of the years. In 1588-89 a series of pamphlets, the 'Marprelate Tracts', were published, denouncing the alleged failings of the bishops. Other radicals did what dissidents (Catholics and heretics) had done before them; they separated from the established Church and began worshipping in independent groups. By the last years of the century the radical fringe of English Protestantism had become very frayed. Dissatisfaction with the status quo produced a sub-culture of seekers looking for they knew not what. They readily coalesced into small groups, usually around some charismatic preacher who claimed to have found the secret of the perfect church. Thus were born the first English Independents or Congregationalists.

Before the end of Elizabeth's reign these extremists had their first martyrs. Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood established in London their congregation which called itself the Brothers of the Separation. A fundamental tenet of their doctrine was that, unlike the national Church, in which, as the Prayer Book stated 'the bad be ever mingled with the good', God's people were easily identifiable and distinctive. They could not be tainted by association with Christians who were not perfect. The government had no desire to persecute such eccentrics but Barrowe and Greenwood drew attention to themselves by writing pamphlets denouncing the establishment. They spent spells in prison and, in 1598, were charged with the capital crime of publishing seditious books. They were found guilty and duly sentenced. They were given every opportunity to admit their error but they refused and gained what they regarded as a martyr's death. It is against this background that we need to understand the determination of some Separatists to leave their own land.



A letter from Martin Luther to Henry VIII's right-hand man, Thomas Cromwell

Martin Luther, 'founder' of the European Reformation



Browne's legacy extended to the Pilgrims on the Mayflower, who took their beliefs with them when they settled in America

Robert Browne

WORDS BY: *Katharine Marsh*

Behind the man considered to be the Father of the Pilgrims

It was the beliefs of a man from the Midlands that would ultimately lead to the Pilgrims travelling to America. Born in Rutland in the 1550s while Queen Elizabeth I was on the throne, Robert Browne would come to bring many round to his way of thinking, and they became known as Brownists.

The Church of England, the state church that had been set up by Henry VIII during the infamous English Reformation, was no stranger to dissenters. From the start, Catholics had been angry, and there were others who didn't think it was the denomination for them. However, it was Robert Browne who saw a way out by becoming the first to secede from the Church - and he started his own.

While Browne was educated at the University of Cambridge, above all was his dedication to Puritanism - he was one of a growing number who wanted to purify the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth I after the constant switching between Protestantism and Catholicism. Around this time, Puritanism was spread into two strands: those who wanted to reform the Church from within, and those who wanted to break away or separate, hence the name 'Separatists'.

After his education, Browne became a lecturer at Saint Mary's Church, Islington, preaching that individual churches should have their own governing bodies to make their own decisions. Churches would be able to appoint their own clergy, and the queen and the bishops wouldn't have any power. It was all words - until Browne decided to put his ideas into action.

In 1580, Browne created a new church in Norwich with his friend, John Harrison. It was England's first Separatist Church, and put into practice his congregationalist ideas. Their church was acting independently, with doctrine being decided on by the leaders in consultation with their flock. It landed them in exile in Holland by 1582. Browne had been picked up while recruiting members in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, and it was only the first of his many brushes with the law - over his entire lifetime, Browne was imprisoned 32 times.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where Browne is thought to have earned his degree

It was while in Holland that Browne wrote *A Treatise of Reformation Without Tarrying for Any*, in which he took aim at the Puritans, accusing them of siding with the government rather than what Jesus wanted. He then took aim at the English government itself, claiming that it had no right to interfere in matters between God and His people. It was one of the first writings regarding religious liberty to be written in the English language. It was putting his thoughts into words that would help inspire more people and ensure the longevity of his ideas.

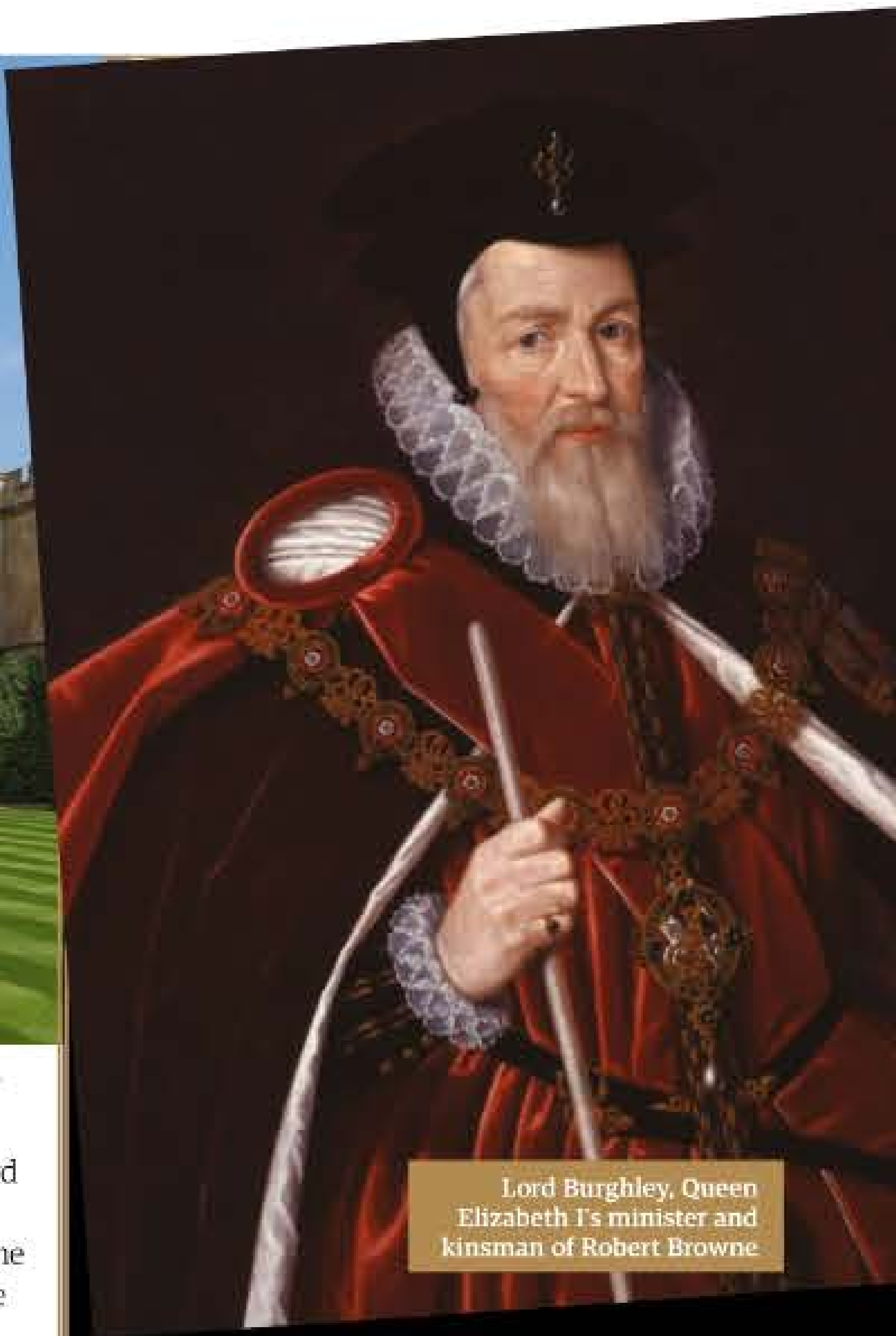
After a couple of years, Browne was allowed to return to England, but his influence hadn't waned. In 1584, a group of Norfolk clergymen asked the government for help when the Archbishop of Canterbury was telling them to tone down their Puritan views. The clergymen were concerned that their congregations would go and find more Puritan churches instead of staying with them. They wrote: "We have struggled to keep our church members from Brownism with great difficulty."

Browne's influence was so rife in England that religious dissenters and Separatists were often referred to as Brownists up until the 1620s. In fact, Shakespeare's play *Twelfth Night*, thought to have been written around 1601 to 1602, even featured the word, with Sir Andrew Aguecheek saying: "I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician." Although it had been just over 20 years since Browne had set up his Separatist Church, the word was clearly still very much in use.

However, despite his strong views and all that he had gone through as a result of his views, Browne began to turn his back on his Separatist ways. In 1585 he recanted his teachings and the following year became headmaster at St Olave's Grammar School in Southwark, London, and Stamford School before finding his way back into the ministry of the Church of England. He didn't stop getting into trouble, though. He was fined for non-attendance and, as a result, some argue that he had probably become a Separatist once again. He died in prison around 1633 after being arrested for a drunken brawl with a watchman.

Browne's dalliances with the law and his reversion to the state religion made little impact on how he was viewed by Separatists after his death. The colonists who sailed to America on the Mayflower held their Brownist views above all others, which is why he has been called the founder of Congregationalism and the Father of the Pilgrims. He influenced Separatism, going so far as to found his own movement and Church; his actions opened the door for others to follow in his footsteps - it just so happened that some of them were settling a new colony in the New World.

St Mary's Church, Islington, where Browne began preaching his Separatist views



Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth I's minister and kinsman of Robert Browne

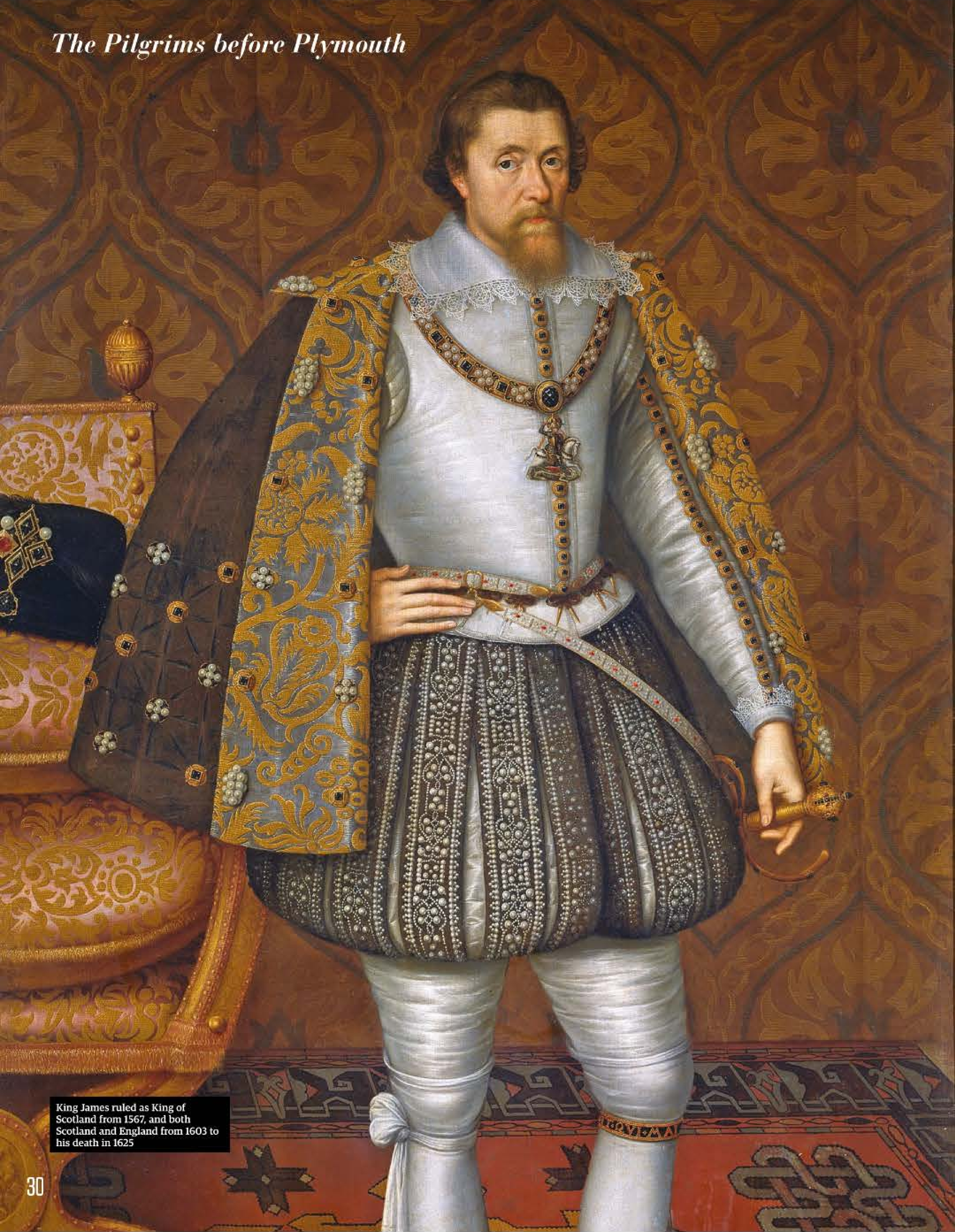
Lord Burghley

When you're making trouble, it's usually best to know someone who can keep you out of prison

Being related to someone in power usually comes with its perks - especially if that someone is Queen Elizabeth I's chief minister. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was principal adviser to the monarch for most of her reign and, as a result, had a significant amount of influence.

When Burghley received a complaint about Robert Browne and his actions of "delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine" at Bury St Edmunds in 1581, he made his excuses for his relative to keep him out of trouble. When further complaints were made later that year, Browne was even brought in front of the archbishop, but Burghley forced him to release his new prisoner. Unfortunately for the government, that meant Browne returned to his followers with a reputation that could only help him to increase his standing.

When Browne returned from his exile in Holland and returned to the Church of England, he was given the rectory of Achurch in Northamptonshire by Burghley. In fact, it had been obtained by him two years prior, to give to his kinsman. Whatever happened to Browne, Burghley had his back and was able to steer him away from most punishments - although he didn't have the power to stop the exile.



King James ruled as King of Scotland from 1567, and both Scotland and England from 1603 to his death in 1625

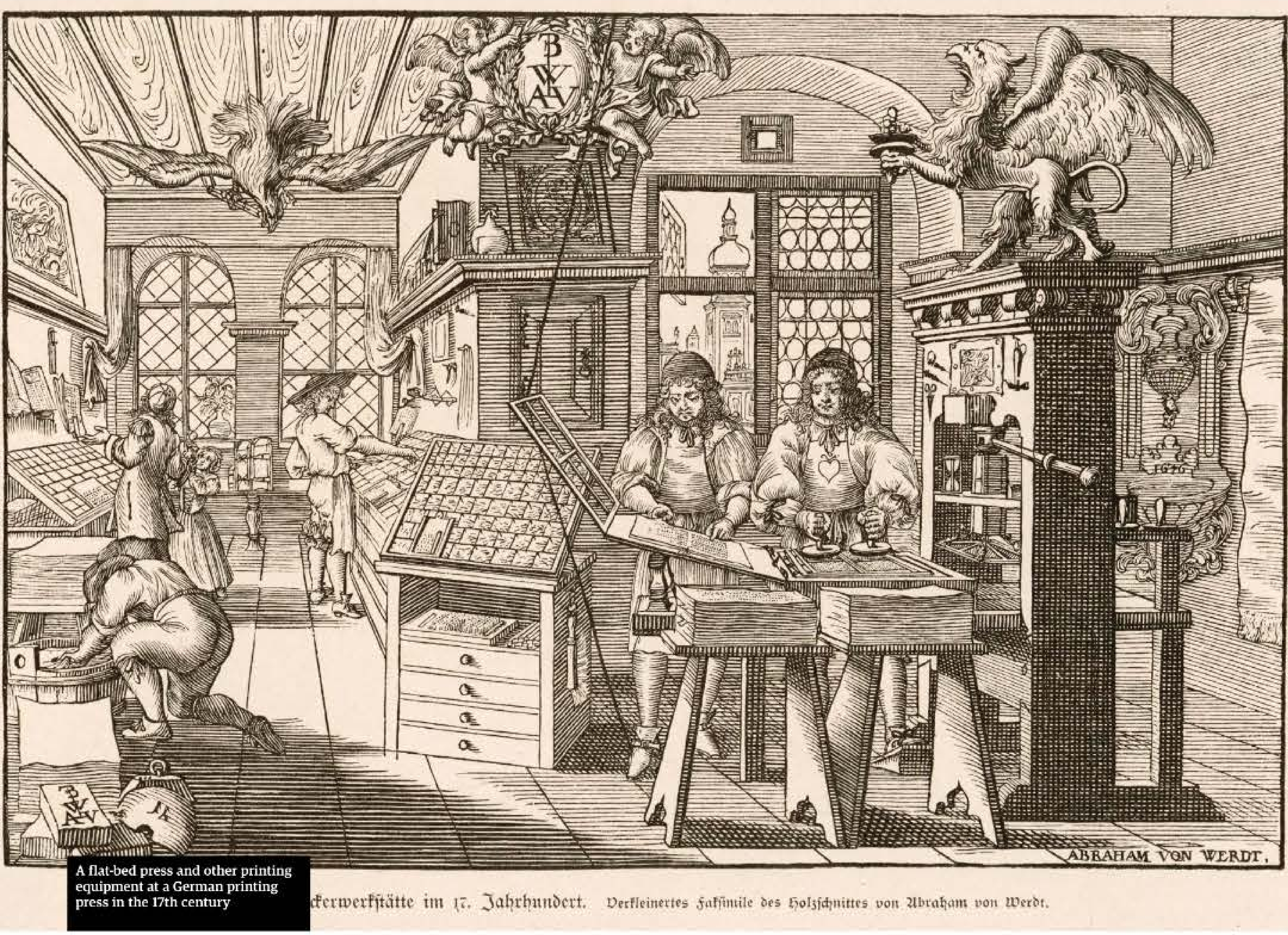
The rise of King James

WORDS BY: *Derek Wilson*

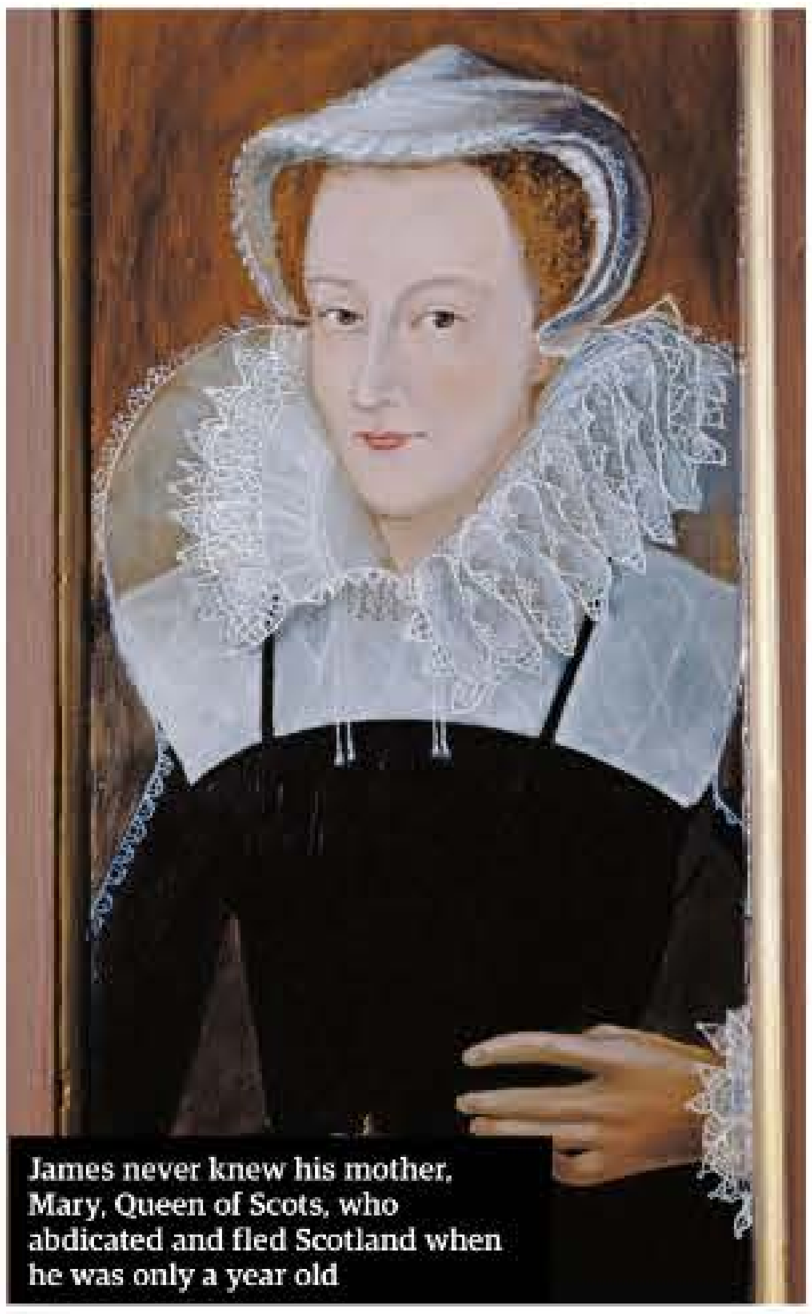
Taking power in a time of turmoil, King James faced plenty of challenges

'We do now with patience expect the consummation of our gracious king's coronation, after which we hope he will hearken him to our motions in behalf of the Church.' So wrote Stephen Egerton, a London clergyman, in 1603. Egerton had good personal reasons to hope for a settlement of the divisive issues that had created deep rifts in English religious life during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Although the incumbent of St Anne's Blackfriars in London, he had earlier spent three years in prison for getting too close to the Separatists, Henry Barrow and John Greenwood. He was far from being alone in the hope that the new monarch would restore religious unity to the English Church. But, of course, all parties concerned had their own interpretations of the word 'unity'. No one knew what kind of church James favoured and, for the time being, at least, he was quite content to leave everyone in the dark.

James became King of Scotland on the abdication of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1567, when he was little more than a year old. Earlier in the year his father, Lord Darnley, had been murdered. His mother was imprisoned by her enemies and subsequently fled to exile in England. Therefore, he never knew his parents and his upbringing was in the hands of regents and the tutors appointed by them to attend to his education. They were predominantly Presbyterians and the young king was soundly indoctrinated in Calvinist theology. But there was a strong Catholic faction among the Scottish nobility, and as he entered his adolescent years, James became adept at religious dialectic. Three major factors went into fashioning the psyche of the man who united in his person the rule of Scotland and England in 1603. First, he craved affection. His lack of family life caused him to develop close relationships with companions, who, thus, came to exercise considerable influence. Second, he enthusiastically studied theology, a subject in which his reading, if not deep, was certainly wide. Third, and fundamentally, he had a passionate commitment to the sacred nature of his office. The pre-Reformation Scottish Church had been run by bishops, and though the Protestant 'kirk' that replaced it replicated much of the Calvinist polity, Church-state relations were not yet fully modelled on the Presbyterian model.


ABRAHAM VON WERDT.
ckerwerkſtätte im 17. Jahrhundert. Verkleinertes Fakſimile des Holzſchnittes von Abraham von Werdt.

A flat-bed press and other printing equipment at a German printing press in the 17th century



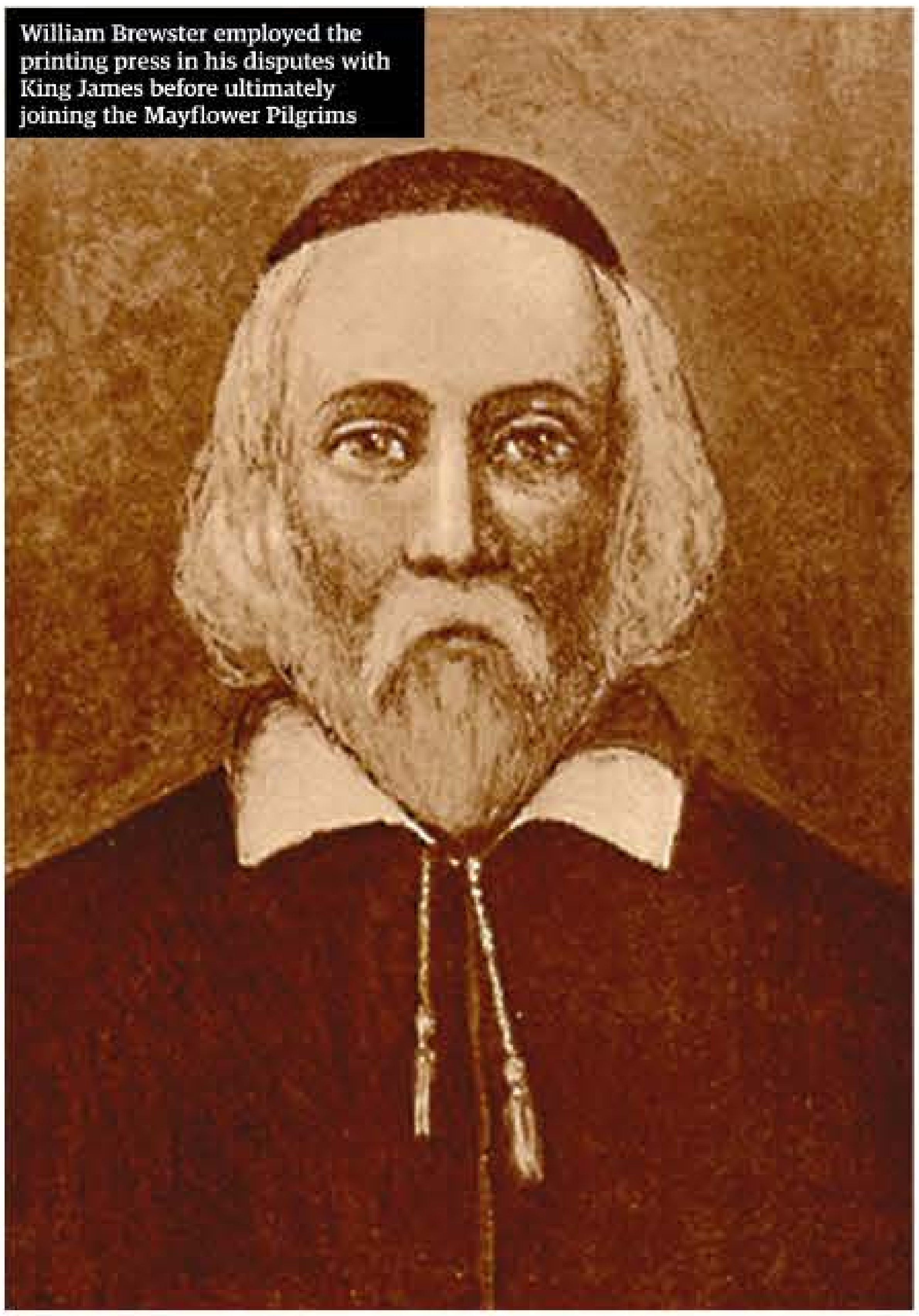
James never knew his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, who abdicated and fled Scotland when he was only a year old

The Scottish king's dominant concern was the same as that of the English queen - asserting and maintaining royal authority. Like his predecessor, he desired peace, uniformity and loyalty. If power came down from above and was vested in God's representative in both Church and state, then that power could not be challenged. The king might choose to delegate authority in certain matters to Church leaders, members of Parliament and the law courts, but these remained subordinate entities. Ministers of the kirk were in no position to dictate to the king. James made his politico-religious philosophy clear in two treatises, 'Basilikon Doron' and 'The True Law of Free Monarchies'.

After his long experience of dealing with the competing parties north of the border there was little the 37-year-old king did not know about wheeling and dealing, by the time he arrived in London. It was the Puritan clergy who handed him on a plate the opportunity to display himself publicly as a theological expert and a fair-minded monarch, ready to give ear to all his subjects. The reformist element among the clergy presented him with the Millenary Petition, supposedly bearing a thousand signatures requesting reform of some practices. By way of response James summoned representatives of the senior clergy to a three-day conference held at Hampton Court Palace in January 1604. Some of the radicals' main complaints were aired. Some modest reforms of Church practice were agreed (though many were not followed up) but the king was far from being a neutral chairman. Twice he harangued the assembled divines at length and when the issue of Presbyterian government came up James forcefully made his position clear to the extremists:

"If you aim at a Scotch Presbytery, it agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the Devil [If episcopacy was abolished] I know what would become of my Supremacy, for NO BISHOP, NO KING … If this is all your party have to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

The king, thus, firmly tied the episcopate to the Crown and the Crown to the episcopate; any other pattern for Church and state was dead in the water. For all Presbyterians and Separatists the change of monarch had changed nothing. Even when, inside two years, the Gunpowder Plot exposed the lengths to which Catholic extremists were prepared to go, there was no shift of royal policy in favour of Protestant extremists. James by then had already opened negotiations with the old enemy, Catholic Spain. It is doubtful whether he was serious in his threat of harrying ultra-Protestants out of the land



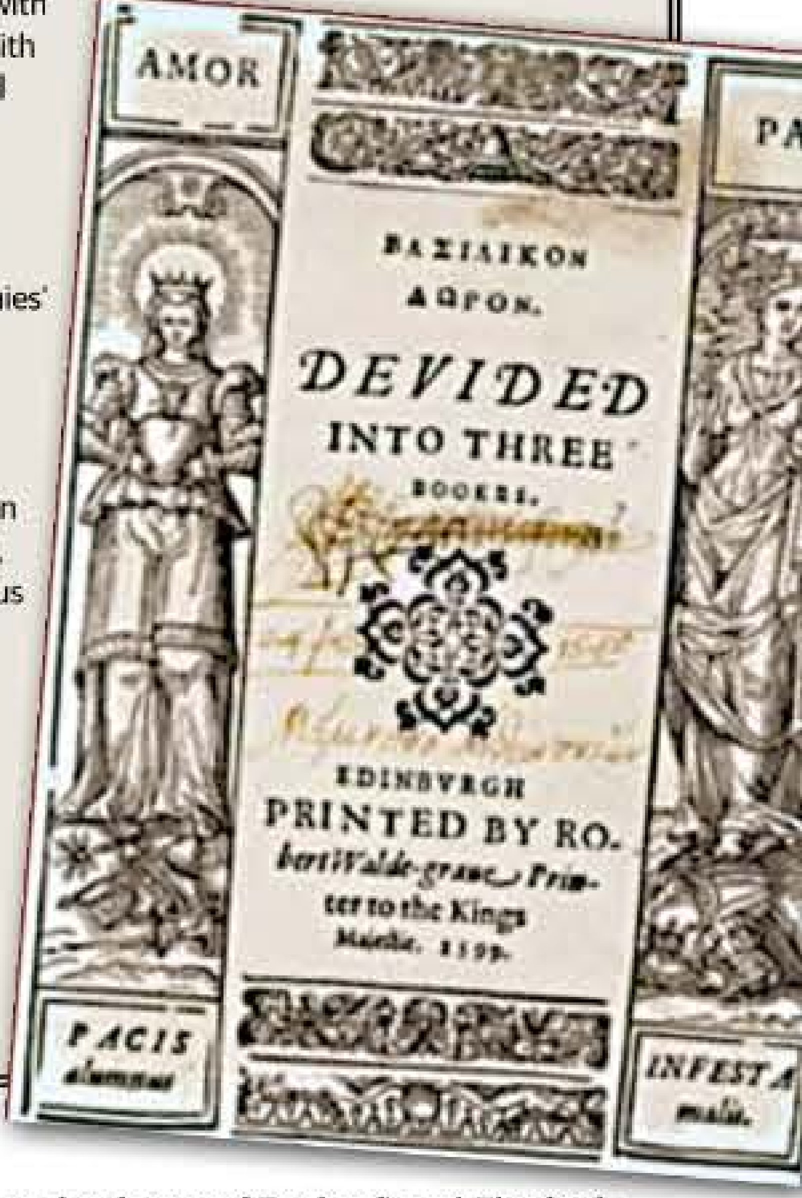
William Brewster employed the printing press in his disputes with King James before ultimately joining the Mayflower Pilgrims

Basilikon Doron

James's definition of kings as 'little gods' reflected his conflicts with Scottish noble factions

In 1599 James VI of Scotland printed a 'Royal Gift' ('Basilikon Doron' in Greek) to his elder son Henry, Duke of Rothesay. It was a treatise on 'kingship', as that word was understood by its author. James counsels his heir to concentrate on three things. First comes his duty to God, an obligation stemming from two facts – 'first, that he made you a man' (ie a member of the superior half of the human race) 'and next that he made you a little God to sit on his Throne, and rule over other men'. His second responsibility was to his people. This needs to be based on firmness. James claimed to have discovered this from bitter experience: 'when I thought (by being gracious at the beginning) to win all men's hearts [...] I by the contrary found the disorder of the country and the loss of thanks to be my reward'. Third, James dealt with 'household management' – Henry's dealing with his court, a subject that ranged from personal dress and table manners to careful choice of attendants who knew how to keep secrets.

'Basilikon Doron' has to be seen alongside another treatise by James published in the previous year. 'The True Law of Free Monarchies' set out more straightforwardly the principle of the divine right of kings. It rejected the claim urged by some political philosophers that legitimate rule was based on a contract between king and people. Drawing on his own struggle with nobles and ministers of religion, James denounced Catholics, Puritans, fractious parliaments and any subjects who sought to thwart the will of their divinely appointed sovereign. In practice, James tempered his royal behaviour when he became King of England. His son, Charles I, who succeeded him in 1625, did not. He lost his head.



AMOR

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΩΡΟΝ.
DEVIDED
INTO THREE
BOOKES.

EDINBVRGH
PRINTED BY RO-
bert Walde-graue, Prin-
ter to the Kings
Maiestie. 1599.

PACIS
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The 'Basilikon Doron', printed at the request of James VI of Scotland in 1599

> *"James was deliberately forming alliances with nations on both sides of the religious divide"*

but several of them began to question whether they could, in good conscience, continue to be loyal subjects of James Stuart.

One such was William Brewster (c.1566-1644), a gentleman of a good Nottinghamshire family. His father was bailiff of Scrooby Manor, an estate belonging to the Archbishop of York and also postmaster on the Great North Road, which entailed keeping a good supply of horses for royal officials, merchants and other important travellers moving to and from the capital and the queen's court. As such he was well informed of all the latest news. More importantly, he was well known to the leaders of East Midland society at the peak of which stood the queen's favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and William Cecil, Baron Burghley, all of whom were champions of the Puritan cause. Brewster senior was, therefore, well placed to set his son's feet on the ladder of preferment. Young William was sent to Cambridge, after which (ca 1584) he obtained a place in the entourage of William Davison (or Davidson), a prominent courtier/diplomat and a man of strong Puritan views who was married to a relative of Robert Dudley. Davison's career from 1566 to 1586 largely involved representing Elizabeth in negotiations with Scotland (where he strongly favoured the Presbyterian faction) and the Netherlands (where he worked hard to encourage the Dutch rebels against Spanish rule). Between 1584 and 1586 Brewster accompanied Davison when he was envoy to the republican Seven Provinces, struggling against Spanish rule. When, in 1587, Davison was appointed principal secretary to the Queen and member of the Privy Council, Brewster's further rise seemed assured.

Unfortunately, Davison fell from favour through no fault of his own during the crisis over Mary, Queen of Scots. He was caught between Elizabeth, who desperately wanted to avoid having Mary executed, and the Council, who just as desperately, wanted to be rid of Mary, an inevitable focus of plots against the English queen. In February 1587, Mary was executed (an act which, in the fullness of time, brought her son, James, to the throne of England) and Elizabeth put the blame on Davison for delivering her signed death warrant to Mary's jailers without her permission. It is more than possible that Elizabeth had taken a dislike to Davison's forthright 'advice' and that this was one reason for making him a scapegoat. The secretary was not the only Puritan who, in Elizabeth's opinion, showed less deference to her than they should have done. Whatever the reason, Davison's career nosedived and he spent the rest of his life in reduced circumstances.

Brewster's court career also came to an abrupt end. He returned to Scrooby and took over his father's positions of postmaster and bailiff. He was now in the full flower of manhood and threw himself enthusiastically into the Puritan cause (and, later, the Separatist cause). He used his influence to bring radical preachers to the area. Increasingly he fell foul of the Church authorities for 'gadding about' to hear Puritan sermons and holding unauthorised Bible study and prayer groups in his own house.

Given Brewster's earlier experiences it is not surprising that he was out of sympathy with the Elizabethan settlement. He would have learned much about how different things were in Scotland where a Presbyterian regime was, at least partially, in operation. He had certainly seen for himself

"Unfortunately, Davison fell from favour during the crisis over Mary, Queen of Scots"

the brave Dutch freedom fighters casting off the 'popish tyranny' of Spain. The house meeting at Scrooby was gradually morphing into a gathered church, the kind of silent protest group that had existed on the fringes of English religion ever since 14th-century Lollards had met together in secret to read forbidden English Bibles. But Brewster and his friends probably had no immediate plans for formal separation. For a few years they looked for leadership to Richard Clifton, rector of Babworth, some seven miles away. They were waiting and hoping for better things when James came to the throne. It was their disillusionment with the Stuart regime that made them embrace the idea of exile.

In 1605, Clifton was ousted from his living for refusing to conform to certain Anglican practices. A few months later Clifton, Brewster, John Robinson and other attended an emergency meeting of radicals at Coventry and it was there that Brewster and his friends were among those who committed themselves to moving to the Netherlands in 1608. Although Robinson was the pastor of the exiles, first at Amsterdam and then at Leyden, Brewster was looked up to as the man whose social position and knowledge of life in the Low Countries best fitted him for leadership. He was also, according to contemporary accounts, someone who commended himself to all by his gentleness and amiability.

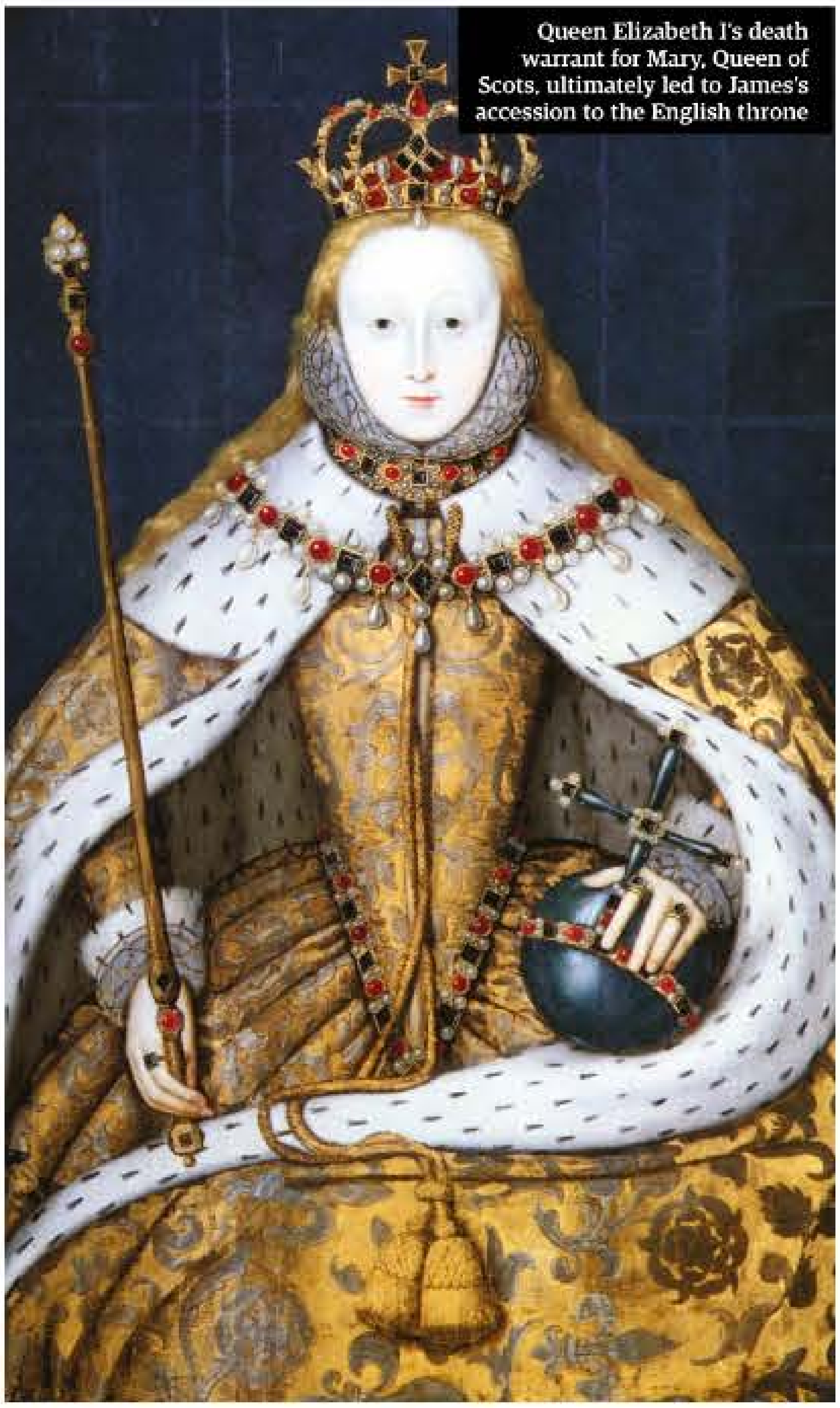
Yet it was Brewster who roused the ire of James I by going on the religious offensive. He set up a printing press from which came forth a score of books in Latin, English and Dutch. Some were uncontroversial devotional works but others, written pseudonymously by Robinson, the Brownist Francis Johnson and the Scottish fugitive David Calderwood, were attacks on episcopacy and explanations of the principles underlying separatism. These works from what came to be known as the Pilgrim Press, were smuggled across the North Sea into England and Scotland. King James was furious, not only because of the personal affront to his Church policy, but also because of the impact the seditious works might have on his diplomatic relations with the Dutch Republic and Spain. James, who saw himself as a universal peacemaker, was deliberately forming alliances with nations on both sides of the religious divide. Calderwood was a Scottish minister who had clashed personally with the king. In 1617, James visited his northern kingdom with the intention of speeding up the development of full Episcopal Church government and an increase in royal authority over doctrine and practice. 'The Five Articles of Perth' laid down instructions about five contentious topics and this bitterly divided the general assembly of the Church. James tried main force. He sought a parliamentary statute giving him the right to enforce the changes he wanted without the consent of the assembly. When this was rejected, James went into a rage. 'The Scottish Church [...]

A voyage of misfortune

For years James's eyes were fixed on the English Crown and that involved careful relations with its current wearer

A letter from Elizabeth I to James VI

Henry VII's male line died out in 1553. Thereafter, any claimants to the English Crown had to base their claim on descent through the female line. Elizabeth I came to the throne as granddaughter of the first Tudor. Mary Stuart, who became Queen of Scotland in 1542, was Henry's great-granddaughter. Until 1567 there was no possibility of uniting the two kingdoms and ending long years of cross-border hostility (Henry VIII had tried unsuccessfully). Mary was, in fact, half-French and a defender of the 'Auld alliance' between Scotland and France. Two factors changed the situation drastically. Mary was forced to abdicate in 1567 (and subsequently sought refuge in England) after giving birth to her son, James VI. Elizabeth, despite the pleadings of Parliament and her Council, declined either to marry or to name her successor. To do either might create political complications and even danger. In 1585, the two monarchs began a private correspondence, largely concerning foreign policy. The succession was never mentioned (both writers had learned the arts of secrecy and duplicity). Various crises threatened the relationship but the writers continued to assert their mutual friendship. Even when Mary, Queen of Scots was executed, James did not allow the fate of the mother he had never known to sour his relationship with Elizabeth. He referred to her as 'Madame and dearest Sister'. The interests of both parties pointed in the same direction. Elizabeth wanted to minimise French involvement in Scotland and ensure a peaceful transfer of her crown. James was determined to do nothing to hamper his prospects and his escape from the turbulent situation in Scotland. Both monarchs achieved their goals.

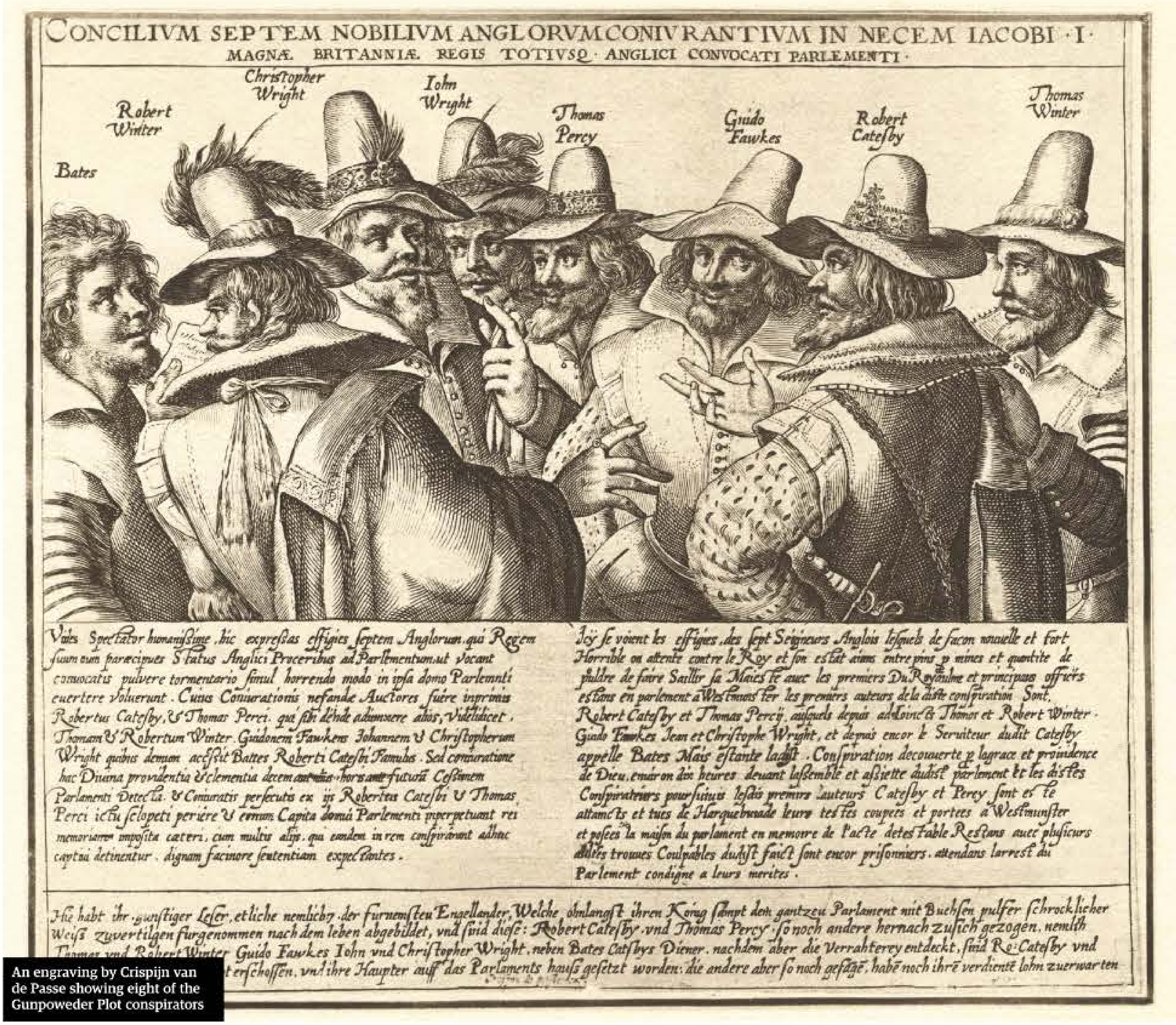


Queen Elizabeth I's death warrant for Mary, Queen of Scots, ultimately led to James's accession to the English throne shall find what it is to draw the anger of a king,' he threatened. However, on this occasion he gave way.

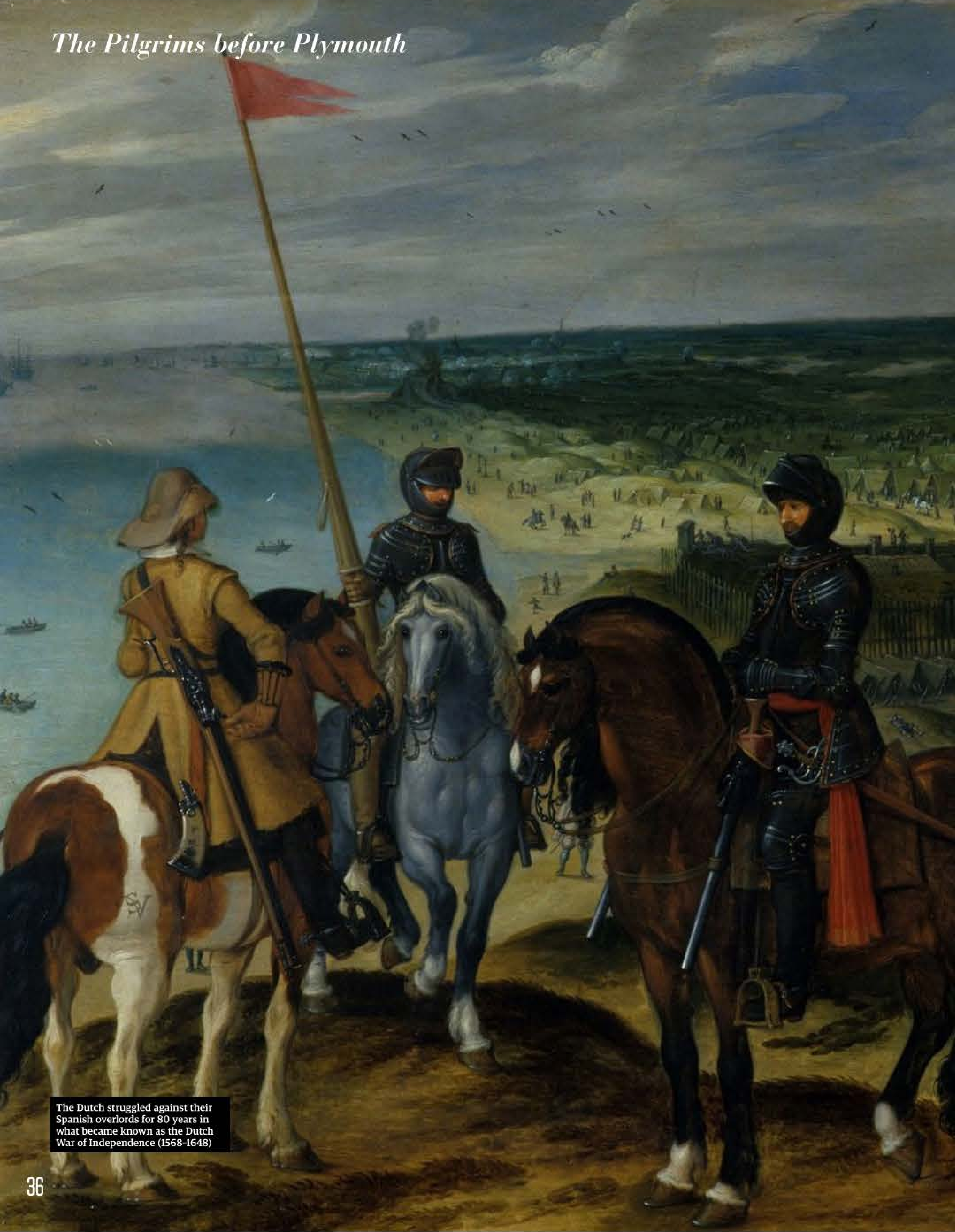
One of those who challenged James's authority was David Calderwood. He was summoned before the King and engaged in a long personal argument. James prided himself on dialectic and was confident in browbeating the cleric. Since Calderwood was obliged to remain on his knees, this should not have been all that difficult. However, he stuck to his guns and replied firmly and unflinchingly. Frustrated, James berated him as a 'false Puritan' and 'a very knave'. He had the defiant minister clapped in prison, removed from office and deported. Thus it was that Calderwood made his way to Leyden.

There he wasted no time making his case fully in print. He gave his account of the proceedings at Perth and followed it with 'A Brief Account of the Governance of the Scottish Church'. These were issued from the Pilgrim Press in 1618. The English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, was ordered to leave no stone unturned in getting the press dismantled and the operatives arrested. Fortunately - and ironically - when the raid occurred Brewster was in London beginning to make arrangements for the Pilgrims' voyage to America. He thus survived to play the leading role in the establishment of the American Plymouth colony.

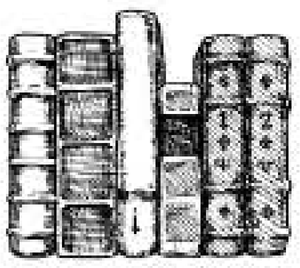
The Pilgrim Press also survived - or, rather, gave birth to a successor. Much of the print was spirited away and taken to Amsterdam where a member of the Separatist Church, Giles Thorpe, made use of it producing yet more works critical of the English Church. For several decades Amsterdam was the hub of a network of 'little Genevas' - groups of believers confident that they had established the perfect Christian community. They exchanged preachers; they exchanged letters; they exchanged books. Brewster's printworks was not the only subversive Puritan propaganda operation working in the Low Countries. In 1626, the Archbishop of Canterbury complained also at the flood of 'sundry schismatical books' entering the country from Amsterdam. The gathered Church left behind in Leyden was every bit as important as the group of passengers who sailed on the Mayflower. It was they who, from afar, encouraged their brothers and sisters in Stuart England. They were the people who toppled James I's son and put an end to divine-right monarchy.


CONCILIVM SEPTEM NOBILIVM ANGLORVM CONIVRANTIVM IN NECEM IACOBI · I ·
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS TOTIVSQ · ANGLICI CONVOCATI PARLEMENTI ·
Bates
Robert Winter
Christopher Wright
John Wright
Thomas Percy
Guido Fawkes
Robert Catesby
Thomas Winter
Vides Spectator humaniſsime, hic expreſsas effigies ſeptem Anglorum, qui Regem ſuum cum præcipuis Status Anglici Proceribus ad Parlementum ut vocant convocatis pulvere tormentario ſimul horrendo modo in ipſa domo Parlementi evertere voluerunt. Cuius Coniurationis nefandæ Auctores fuêre inprimis Robertus Catesby, & Thomas Perci, qui ſibi deinde adiunxere alios, videlicet Thomam & Robertum Winter, Guidonem Fawkens Johannem & Christopherum Wright quibus demum acceſsit Battes Roberti Catesbi Famulus. Sed coniuratione hac Divina providentia & clementia decem horis ante futurã Ceſsionem Parlementi Detecta. & Coniuratis perſecutis ex iis Robertus Catesbi & Thomas Perci ictu ſclopeti periêre & eorum Capita domui Parlementi inperpetuam rei memoriam impoſita cæteri, cum multis aliis, qui eandem in rem conſpirârunt adhuc captivi detinentur. dignam facinore ſententiam expectantes.
Icy ſe voient les effigies des ſept Seigneurs Anglois leſquels de facon nouvelle et fort Horrible ou attente contre le Roy et ſon eſtat aians entrepins p mines et quantite de pouldre de faire Saillir ſa Maiesté avec les premiers Du Royaulme et principaux officiers estans en parlement a Westmunster les premiers auteurs de la dicte conſpiration Sont, Robert Catesby et Thomas Percy, auſquels depuis adioincts Thomas et Robert Winter. Guido Fawkes Jean et Christophe Wright, et depuis encor le Serviteur dudit Catesby appelle Bates Mais eſtante ladicte. Conſpiration decouverte p la grace et providence de Dieu, environ dix heures devant laſsemble et aſsiette dudict parlement et les dictes Conſpirateurs pourſuivis leſdis premiers auteurs Catesby et Percy ſont esté attaincts et tues de Harquebusade leurs testes coupees et portees a Westmunster et poſees la maiſon du parlament en memoire de l'acte detestable Restans avec pluſicurs aultres trouves Coulpables dudict faict ſont encor priſonniers. attendans larrest du Parlement condigne a leurs merites.
Hie habt ihr, günſtiger Leſer, etliche nemlich 7 der furnemſten Engellander, Welche ohnlangſt ihren Konig ſampt dem gantzen Parlament mit Buchſen pulfer ſchrocklicher Weiſs zuvertilgen furgenommen nach dem leben abgebildet, vnd ſind dieſe: Robert Catesby vnd Thomas Percy ſo noch andere hernach zu ſich gezogen, nemlich Thomas vnd Robert Winter Guido Fawkes Iohn vnd Christopher Wright, neben Bates Catsbys Diener. nachdem aber die Verrahterey entdeckt, ſind Ro: Catesby vnd
erſchoſſen, vnd ihre Haupter auff das Parlaments hauſs geſetzt worden: die andere aber ſo noch gefãgẽ, habẽ noch ihrẽ verdientẽ lohn zuerwarten

An engraving by Crispijn van de Passe showing eight of the Gunpoweder Plot conspirators



The Dutch struggled against their Spanish overlords for 80 years in what became known as the Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648)



Life in Holland

WORDS BY: *Derek Wilson*

For the Separatists, life did not turn out to be greener on the other side of the sea

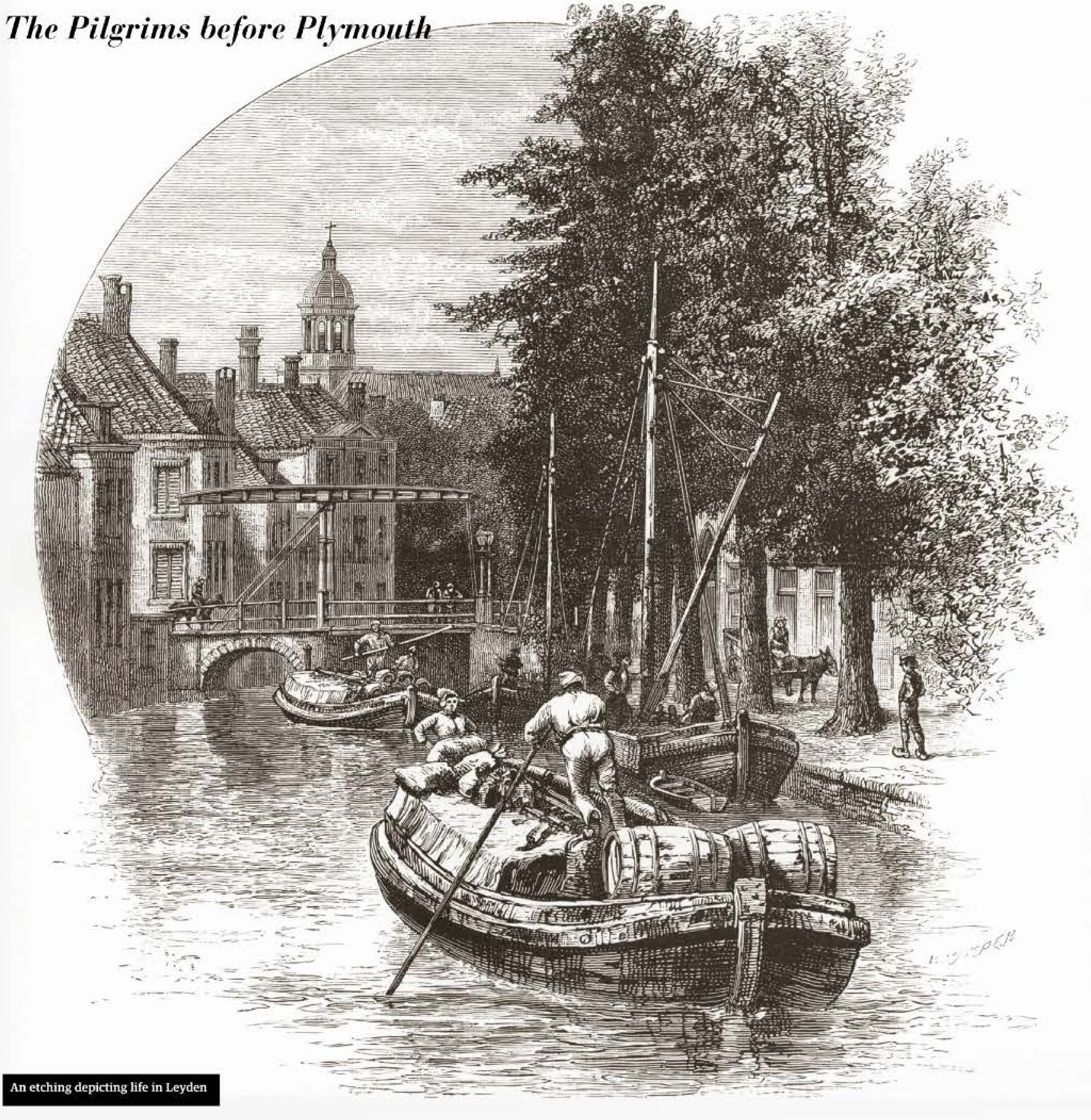
When John Robinson's congregation finally made good their escape from England in 1608 they were simply following a pattern of religious migration that had been in operation for over 60 years.

French Huguenots had fled to England in the 1540s. English Protestants had travelled to Germany and Switzerland (and some as far as Poland) in the 1550s. Groups of English Catholics had decamped to France and the Spanish Netherlands in the 1560s and 1570s. Robert Browne led his followers to the Protestant Netherlands in the 1580s.

By the beginning of James I's reign there were a number of Separatist English communities living in havens beyond the English Channel and the North Sea. By that time some of them were already contemplating migration to America. This toing and froing resulted from a clash between two principles - religious freedom and the sanctity of the state church. Dissenters were seeking the right to believe and worship according to their conscience, but civil authorities feared that a lack of religious unity would mean the loss of political unity and weaken the state.

The situation was politically acute in the Low Countries, where national rebellion against the colonial power of Catholic Spain had been going on since 1568. By 1608 the northern provinces had successfully broken away from Spanish control and formed the Dutch Republic, but the war continued and the government was understandably anxious about immigrant groups of German Lutherans, French Huguenots, various Anabaptists, and English Brownists - immigrants whose first loyalty was not to the Republic.

The years the English asylum seekers spent in the Netherlands were particularly crucial. In 1609

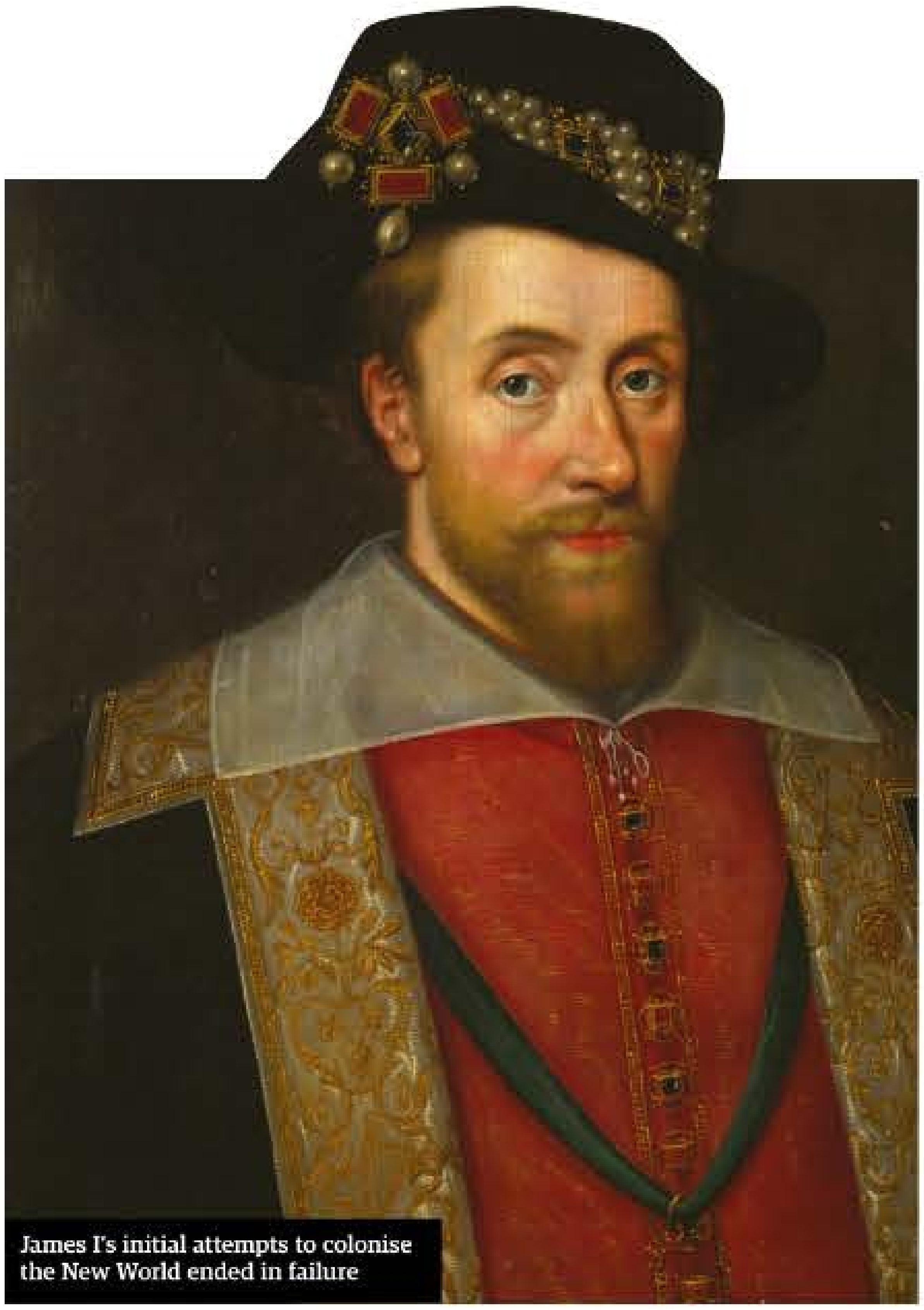


An etching depicting life in Leyden

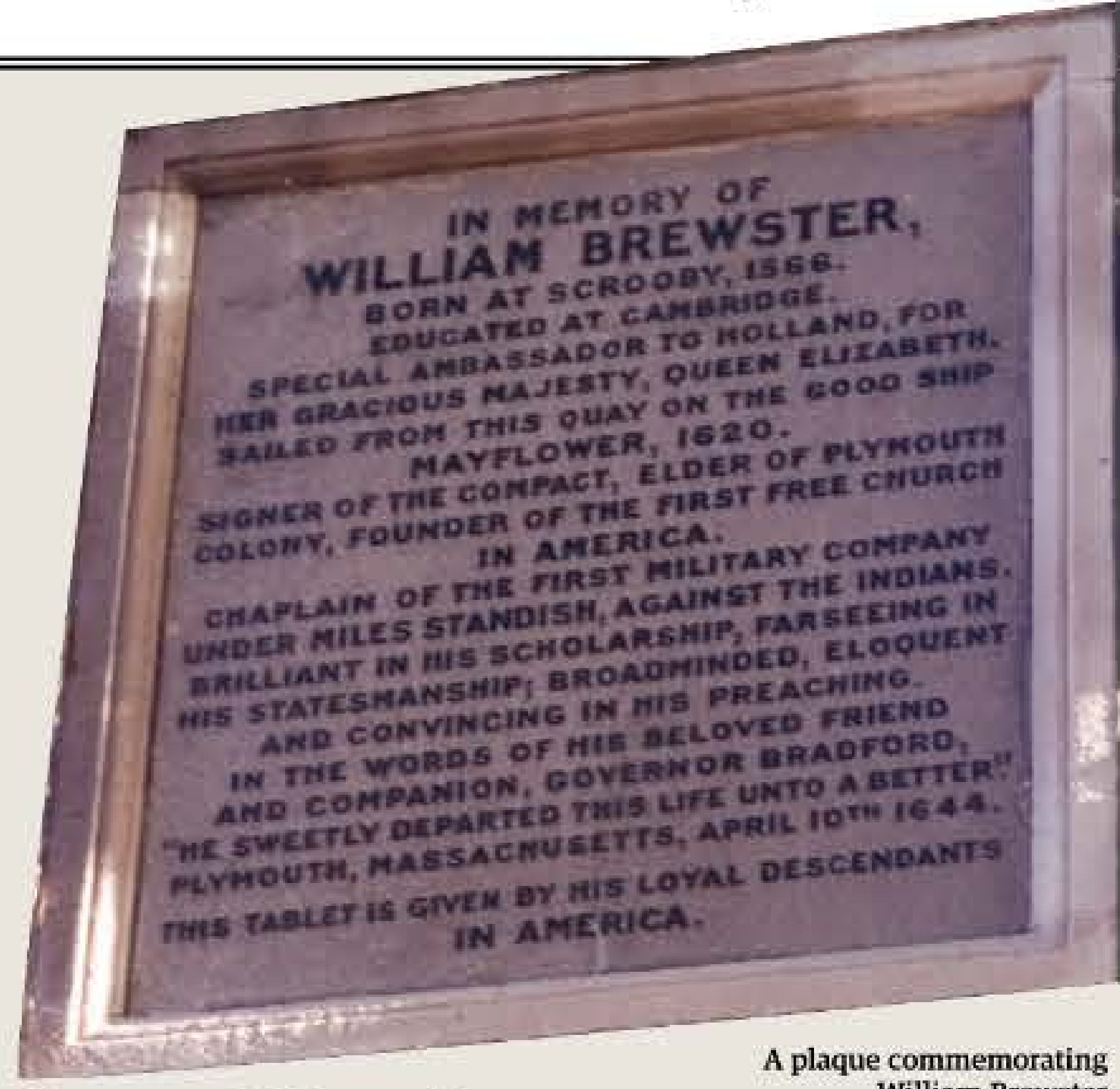
Spain and the Republic had agreed the Twelve Years' Truce. The temporary cessation of hostilities had taken years of acrimonious bargaining to achieve and, like all such compromise solutions, neither side was wholly happy with it. As the terminal date of the agreement drew nearer the leaders of the Republic wanted to make sure that their state was as secure and united as possible to face the prospect of a return to armed conflict. The situation was rendered yet more complex by the fact that the Dutch Republic was a confederacy of seven states (it was officially known as the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, or, simply as the United Provinces). Each semi-autonomous political entity adopted its own degree of tolerance or intolerance towards religious minorities. The newcomers, therefore, had to tread very carefully in their religious and political dealings with their hosts.

However, these Christian adventurers did not find it easy to be circumspect. Having risked everything to flee the draconian laws of the Church of England, they were not about to compromise their faith in order to live comfortably in a foreign land. For them the message of I Peter 2:9 was mandatory: "You are the chosen race, the King's priests, the holy nation, God's own people, chosen to proclaim the wonderful acts of God, who called you out of darkness into his own marvellous light."

The immigrants who sought a tolerant regime that would allow them to believe and worship in their own way were not tolerant of the honest views of others. Separatists were often at odds with each other. In fact, it might well be said that what the Separatists were best at was separating. Robinson and his party of followers walked into one such spat when they arrived.



James I's initial attempts to colonise the New World ended in failure



IN MEMORY OF
WILLIAM BREWSTER,
BORN AT SCROOBY, 1566.
EDUCATED AT CAMBRIDGE.
SPECIAL AMBASSADOR TO HOLLAND, FOR
HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY, QUEEN ELIZABETH.
SAILED FROM THIS QUAY ON THE GOOD SHIP
MAYFLOWER, 1620.
SIGNER OF THE COMPACT, ELDER OF PLYMOUTH
COLONY, FOUNDER OF THE FIRST FREE CHURCH
IN AMERICA.
CHAPLAIN OF THE FIRST MILITARY COMPANY
UNDER MILES STANDISH, AGAINST THE INDIANS.
BRILLIANT IN HIS SCHOLARSHIP, FARSEEING IN
HIS STATESMANSHIP; BROADMINDED, ELOQUENT
AND CONVINCING IN HIS PREACHING.
IN THE WORDS OF HIS BELOVED FRIEND
AND COMPANION, GOVERNOR BRADFORD,
"HE SWEETLY DEPARTED THIS LIFE UNTO A BETTER"
PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, APRIL 10TH 1644.
THIS TABLET IS GIVEN BY HIS LOYAL DESCENDANTS
IN AMERICA.

A plaque commemorating William Brewster

The Midlands nursery

To discover the origins of the Pilgrim Fathers we must look at the heartland of England

When bands of Separatists travelled to the Low Countries there was a sense that the wheel had come full circle. Back in the 1520s Lutheran heresy had begun to enter England from Germany via the Netherlands. Banned books, printed on the continent, were smuggled into the country in barrels of wine and bales of cloth. The most explosive item of religious contraband was the English New Testament translated by William Tyndale who, for several years, made his headquarters in Antwerp.

The books arrived via east coast ports such as Boston and Hull. From there they found their way mainly along riverain trade routes. None was more important than the Vale of Trent. It is not surprising, therefore, that one area most seriously infected by early Protestantism was the land between Gainsborough and Nottingham. Three generations later several men and women from this very area were seeking a haven in the Low Countries. Studies of the leading families involved reveal an intricate network of radical religious clans in the East Midlands.

For example, in 1546, John Lascelles, a gentleman of Henry VIII's court, was burned as a heretic. John's family were lords of the manor at Sturton le Steeple, 13 miles south of Gainsborough. Later in the century John Robinson grew up at Sturton. In 1604, he married a local girl and they moved 12 miles to Scrooby. Here, the major landowner was William Brewster, a man very active in encouraging the spread of Puritanism. The two men travelled together to Leyden with several friends from the same locality. When Robinson decided to remain with the Leyden congregation in 1620, it fell to none other than William Brewster to lead the Pilgrims on their epic transatlantic journey.

> "The immigrants who sought a tolerant regime that would allow them to worship were not tolerant of others"

They were drawn first to Amsterdam because other Separatists were already established there. At their own meeting house in what was known as Brownists' Lane, Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth presided over a congregation of 300 brethren of the Separation of the First English Church, or 'Ancient Brethren' as they were more conveniently known. Their assembly went back to the pioneer days of the independence movement associated with the names of Robert Barrowe and John Greenwood, both of whom had been executed in London in 1592. Johnson had been fortunate to escape the same fate. He had subsequently attempted to establish a settlement in Newfoundland. Having failed in that enterprise, he had sailed to Amsterdam to cooperate with Ainsworth in what was a growing and flourishing church, but cooperation was not Johnson's speciality.

The Ancient Brethren acted as a magnet, attracting several English dissidents, one of whom was John Smyth, one of the first generation of Baptists who had split from the Church of England because of their rejection of infant baptism. It was almost inevitable that this fractious group would disintegrate. The leaders fell out, one of the points of contention being disapproval of the way Mrs Johnson dressed. More serious issues of doctrine sundered the church into distinct factions: 'Ainsworthian Brownists' and 'Franciscan Brownists'.

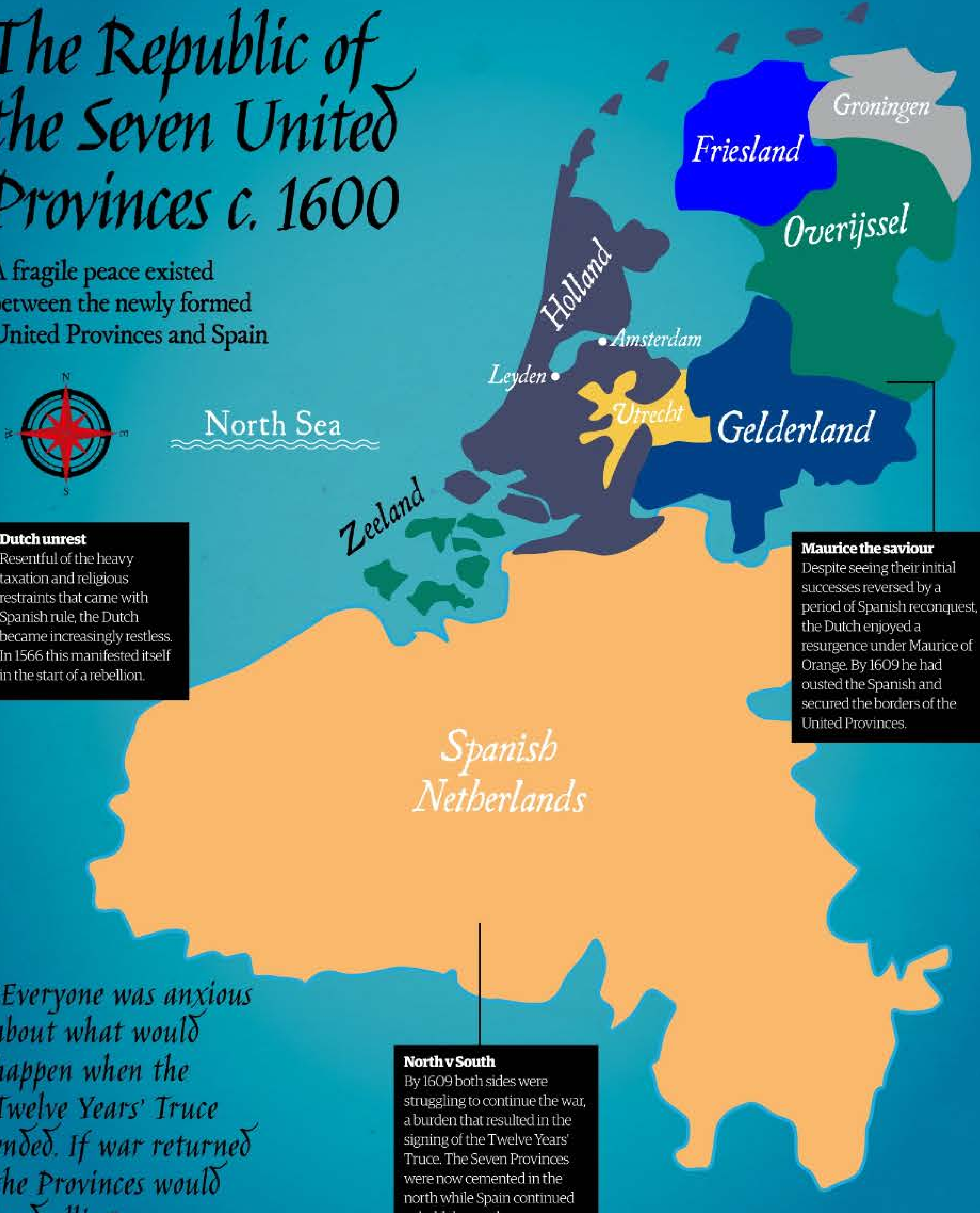
At some point in this lamentable series of events Robinson and some of his party decided to move to Leyden. Apart from the personality issues involved, there were some more basic reasons for this relocation. A more liberal regime prevailed in Leyden than that in Amsterdam. Also, Leyden had a university (founded in 1575) that, though young, was rapidly establishing a reputation for scholarship in the Protestant world. Robinson enrolled there to study theology, and he was not alone in taking advantage of the academic opportunities available.

In 1611 the little English community was able to acquire some land on which they built a meeting hall and some simple dwellings. The southwest corner of this city, adjacent to a major marketplace and the street unappealingly known as 'Stinking Alley', became the English quarter. Several of the immigrants learned the cloth trade and helped to revive this cottage industry, which had seriously declined during the war. Others were gainfully employed in a variety of occupations, from tailoring to watchmaking and carpentry to midwifery. From this we might surmise that Robinson's people had settled well and that their future looked promising, but their situation was not without its problems.

Integration is never easy for either side. The settlers had to learn a new language and new customs while at the same time not losing their cultural identity. The host population had to hold xenophobia in check. Inevitably, there were occasional 'incidents',

The Republic of the Seven United Provinces c. 1600

A fragile peace existed between the newly formed United Provinces and Spain


Groningen
Friesland
Overijssel
Holland
Amsterdam
Leyden
Utrecht
Gelderland
Zeeland
North Sea
N
E
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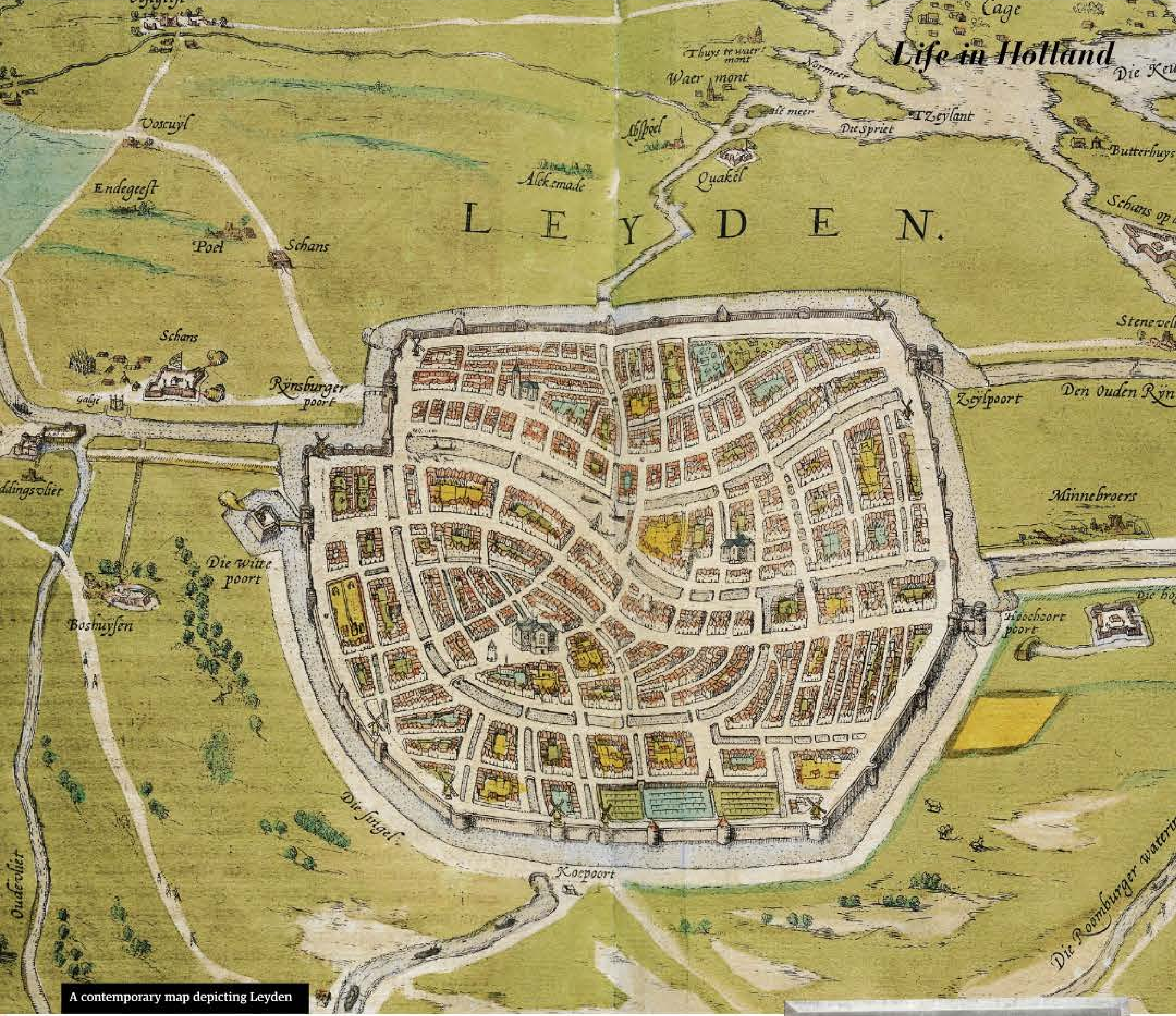
W
Spanish Netherlands

Dutch unrest
Resentful of the heavy taxation and religious restraints that came with Spanish rule, the Dutch became increasingly restless. In 1566 this manifested itself in the start of a rebellion.

Maurice the saviour
Despite seeing their initial successes reversed by a period of Spanish reconquest, the Dutch enjoyed a resurgence under Maurice of Orange. By 1609 he had ousted the Spanish and secured the borders of the United Provinces.

North v South
By 1609 both sides were struggling to continue the war, a burden that resulted in the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce. The Seven Provinces were now cemented in the north while Spain continued to hold the south.

> "Everyone was anxious about what would happen when the Twelve Years' Truce ended. If war returned the Provinces would need allies"


LEYDEN.
Voscuyl
Endegeest
Poel
Schans
Schans
Rÿnsburger poort
Galge
Die witte poort
Boshuysen
Die Singel
Koepoort
Oudevliet
Die Roomburger watering
Hoochoort poort
Minnebroers
Den ouden Rÿn
Zeylpoort
Stenevelt
Schans op
Butterhuys
T Zeylant
Die Spriet
Quakel
Lisbol
Alckemade
Waer mont
Thuys te waer mont
Cage
Vormeer

A contemporary map depicting Leyden

such as the attack on an English couple by a gang of stone-throwing boys in April 1619.

Everyone, from the city fathers downwards, was anxious about what would happen when the Twelve Years' Truce ended. If war returned the government of the United Provinces would need allies. They looked to England for support, but the United Provinces' harbouring of King James I's dissident subjects did little to help Anglo-Dutch relations. In these circumstances the wisest course for the Leyden settlers would have been to keep a low profile.

This, it seems, they were unable or unwilling to do. They took exception to certain aspects of life in Leyden, and Robinson led the way. In public debates and written works he challenged the teaching of rival sectarians such as Smyth and Johnson and leading Dutch theologians at the university.

William Brewster (c.1566-1644), a senior member of Robinson's congregation and a man who, in earlier life, had been part of the Elizabethan diplomatic service, opened a printworks and published books, most of which were designed for the English market. They had to be smuggled into England because they were critical of the state church and of James I's religious policy. This was scarcely tactful in a country that was courting the favour of the English king. In 1617, Brewster and his assistant, Thomas Brewer, were arrested, but thanks to the pulling of diplomatic strings Brewster was soon set free.

It was poor Brewer who became the fall guy for his master's literary indiscretions. He remained in captivity and died in jail several years later. But such personal controversies were only symptoms of a more general malaise. There was a fundamental disconnect between the immigrants and the host community. In their quest for the perfect Christian church no existing state was ever going to meet the Separatists' requirements - Leyden was simply not

"BUT NOW WE ARE ALL, IN ALL PLACES, STRANGERS AND PILGRIMS, TRAVELERS AND SOJOURNERS..."

A plaque to commemorate the Pilgrims that died in Leyden

A project in the balance

Nobody could possibly have foretold the outcome of the Virginia enterprise

"The greater part of men are unconverted and unsanctified...

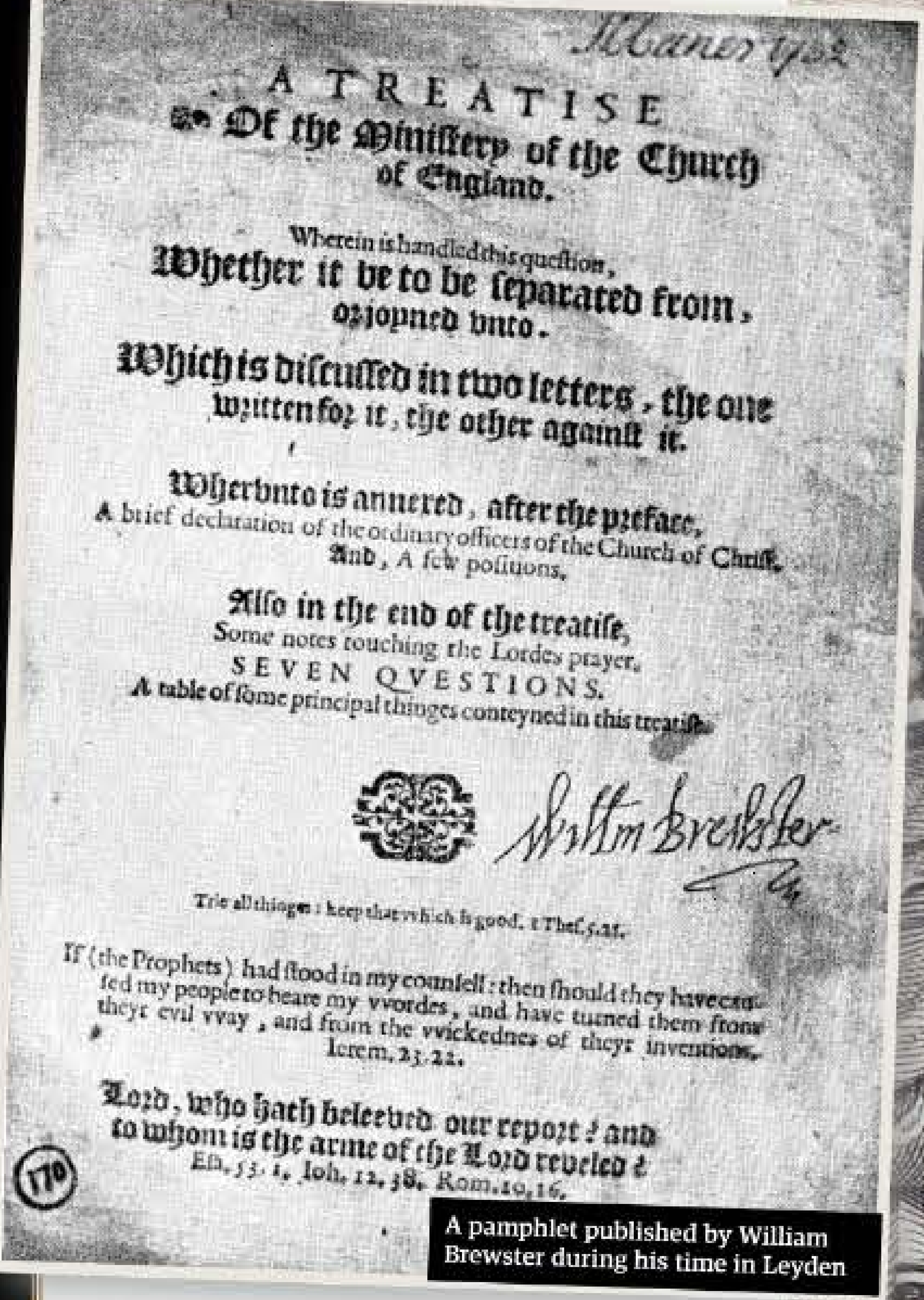
Tell them how to get 20 per cent interest in the hundred. Oh!

How it stirs them! But tell them of planting a church, of converting 10,000 souls to God, they are as senseless as stones."

That stinging rebuke was delivered by the Puritan preacher William Crashaw to the council of the Virginia Company in 1610. He put his finger on many (to his mind) unworthy motives that deterred people from facing up to the challenge of New World settlement. Some people questioned the grabbing of land belonging to indigenous people. Some were deterred by the hardships involved. Others were concerned by the implications for international relations. Crashaw imperiously swept aside all such objections as stratagems employed by the devil to deter the English from pursuing their noble and Christian calling. Like Israel of old, they were summoned to face the unknown and trust in the Lord to enable them to prosper in a new land.

Such rhetoric undoubtedly stirred some people. Others preferred to look at the hard lessons offered by current events. The fate of the Jamestown settlers in 1610 played sufficiently heavily on the public imagination for Shakespeare to use it powerfully in his last play, *The Tempest* (1610-11).

An even more sobering event occurred while the Leyden community were weighing the pros and cons of voyaging to America. The most famous living pioneer of English involvement in the Americas was Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1617 he embarked on his last expedition, sailing in search of the fabled El Dorado. He failed, returned in disgrace and was executed in October 1618. Vision and reason were engaged in a tug of war over New World settlement, and at the time it was unclear which would prevail.



A TREATISE
Of the Miniſtery of the Church
of England.

Wherein is handled this queſtion,
Whether it be to be ſeparated from,
or ioyned unto.
Which is diſcuſſed in two letters, the one
written for it, the other againſt it.

Wherunto is annexed, after the preface,
A brief declaration of the ordinary officers of the Church of Chriſt.
And, A few poſitions.

Alſo in the end of the treatiſe,
Some notes touching the Lordes prayer.
SEVEN QVESTIONS.
A table of ſome principal thinges conteyned in this treatiſe.

Willm Brewster

Trie all thinges: keep that which is good. 1 Theſ. 5.21.

If (the Prophets) had ſtood in my counſell: then ſhould they have cauſed my people to heare my vvordes, and have turned them from theyr evil vvay, and from the vvickednes of theyr inventions. Ierem. 23.22.

Lord, who hath beleeved our report? and to whom is the arme of the Lord reveled? Eſa. 53. 1. Ioh. 12. 38. Rom. 10. 16.

(170)

A pamphlet published by William Brewster during his time in Leyden

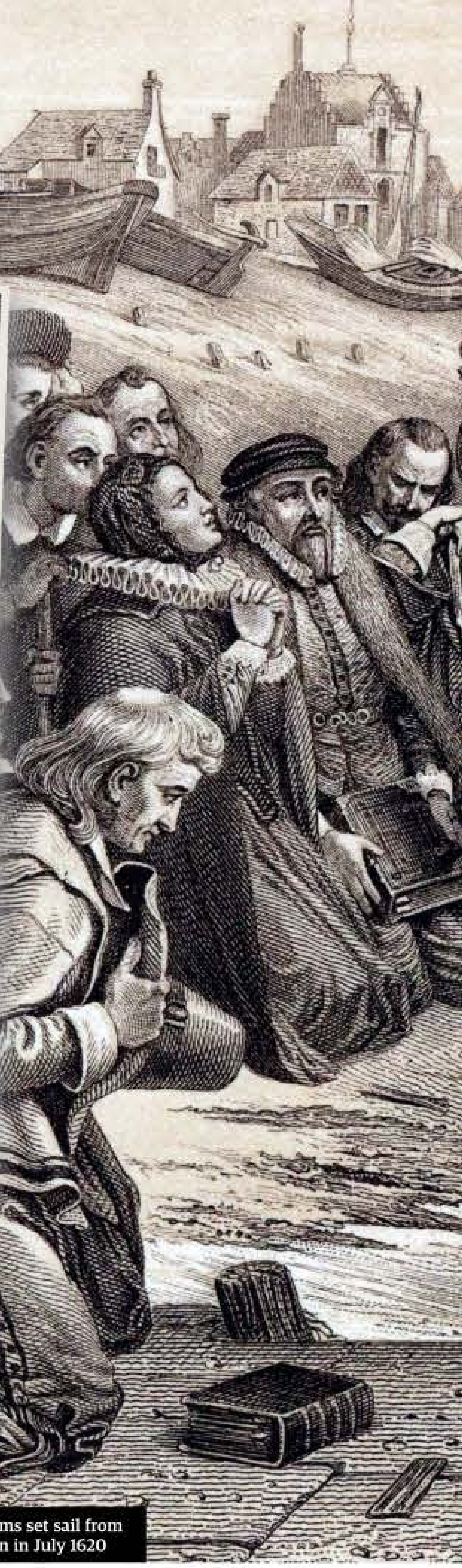
good enough for them. The liberal society that had welcomed them was too liberal to be worthy of them in their own estimation.

For example, the Leyden churches did not practice the strict sabbatarianism that Robinson's people believed all Christians should embrace. Worse still, the authorities turned a blind eye to the continuance of a small Catholic community. The Englishmen took to preaching to their neighbours to win them over from their errant ways. They tried to preserve their purity, for instance by forbidding intermarriage and conducting their own wedding ceremonies. All this did not go down well with their hosts.

In 1619 the Dutch Government banned Separatist weddings as well as public collections for the relief of their poorer members. The settlers could see nothing ahead for their children but the insidious process of integration into a 'worldly' culture. By 1619 some of Robinson's community had already concluded that life among savage cannibals was safer for their souls' health than life among the 'fleshpots' of Leyden - but only a minority.

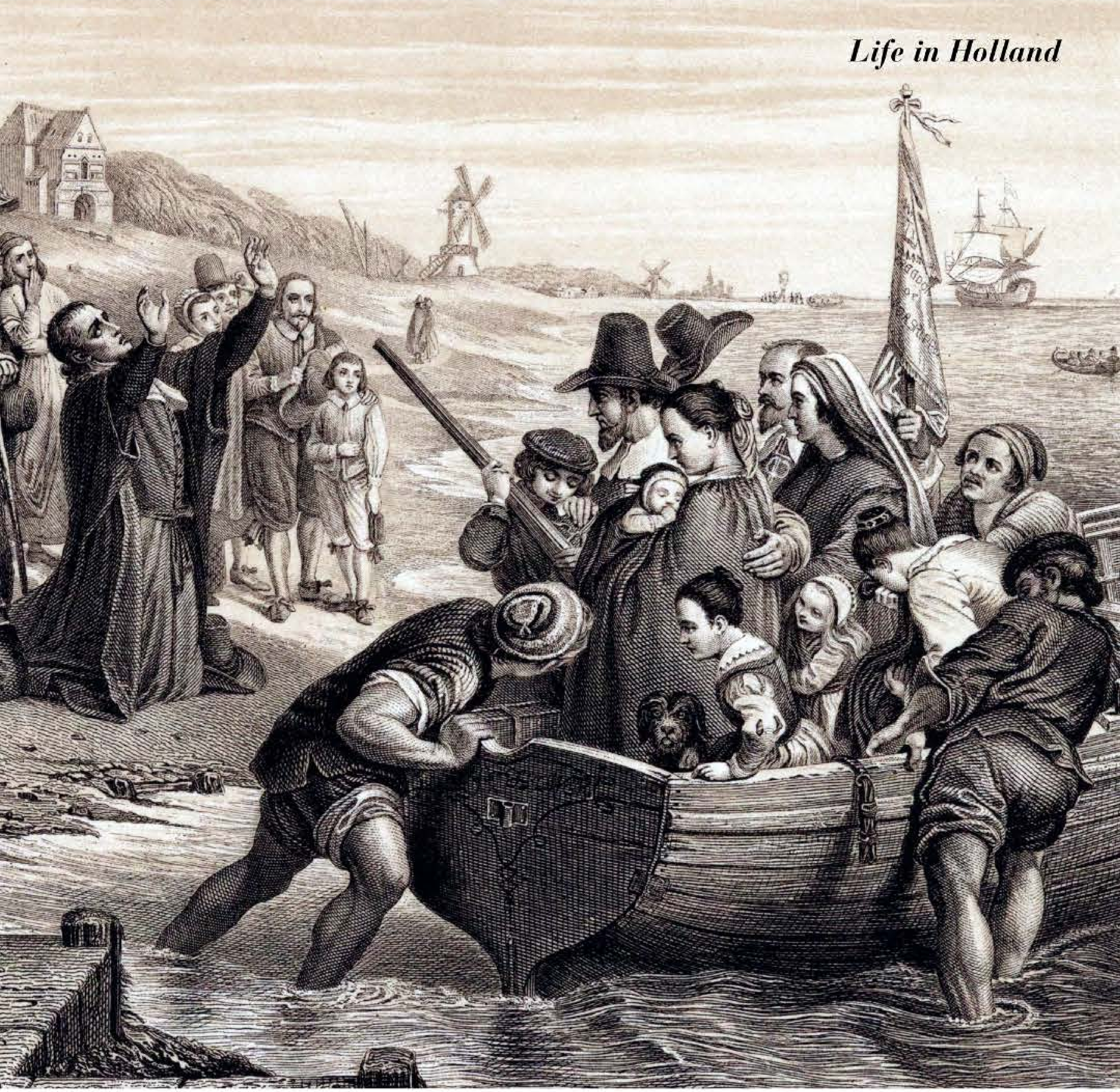
For some two years Robinson's people discussed the possibility of relocating to the New World. They faced this daunting prospect with their eyes wide open. They recognised that the rigours of a transatlantic voyage and settlement in virgin territory among unbaptised heathens would take a toll on the travellers. Others argued such considerations were a trial of faith. They urged (in the words of the historian of the Plymouth settlement) that such hazards, "through the help of God, by fortitude and patience might either be borne or overcome".

Robinson enthusiastically endorsed the fresh start, but he also felt his obligation to all members of his church. He made it known that he would only take ship for America if a majority of his congregation opted to go. They did not. On 21 July 1620 Robinson preached a farewell sermon to those preparing to go aboard the Speedwell, a ship they had bought to convey them to their unknown future - a ship that sadly did not live up to its name.



The Pilgrims set sail from Delfshaven in July 1620

Why North America? There is no doubt that a settlement in unmapped lands and the opening up of new commercial opportunities had captured the imagination of many Englishmen. Richard Hakluyt's monumental *Principal Navigations Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589, was widely read, and many of his countrymen shared his conviction that England should take a lead in the development of the New World, hitherto largely dominated by Spain. Hakluyt had enthused to Queen Elizabeth, "... western discovery will be greatly for the enlargement of the Gospel of Christ whereto the princes of the Reformed



religion are chiefly bound, amongst whom Her Majesty is principal". That pious sentiment sounded very impressive, but the idea of converting 'savages' to Christianity came rather far down the list of priorities to governments, merchants, mariners and investors considering backing hazardous overseas ventures. More pressing reasons for establishing North American settlements included potential profit from the (as-yet-unknown) resources of the interior and a possible solution to the pressing problem of unemployment. Hakluyt even hinted to Elizabeth that America might make a useful dumping ground for some of her pestilential Puritan subjects.

During the queen's reign attempts to establish permanent settlements had all failed, but James I was interested in reviving colonial ambitions. In 1606 he awarded a charter to the London Virginia Company for the exploitation of an area between 34° and 45° north. A vigorous publicity campaign was launched and attracted some 1,700 investors.

The first attempt to establish a colony - Jamestown - was a disaster. Only 60 of the original complement of more than 200 survived to be brought home in 1610. Nevertheless, the company was still open to schemes proposed by other would-be adventurers.

This was the background to the decision of the 'Pilgrims' to exchange the perceived discomforts of Leyden for the dangers of Virginia and the unexplored wilds of the New World. They had much to think and pray about as they sailed from Delfshaven on 2 July 1620.

"A settlement in unmapped lands and the opening up of new commercial opportunities captured the imagination"

Going to America

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Having returned from Holland, the Pilgrims set sail for their new life in America

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William Bradford led Plymouth Colony as governor during three decades and chronicled the story of the settlement in a landmark work

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With plans made to move to the New World, it began to seem like an impossible task

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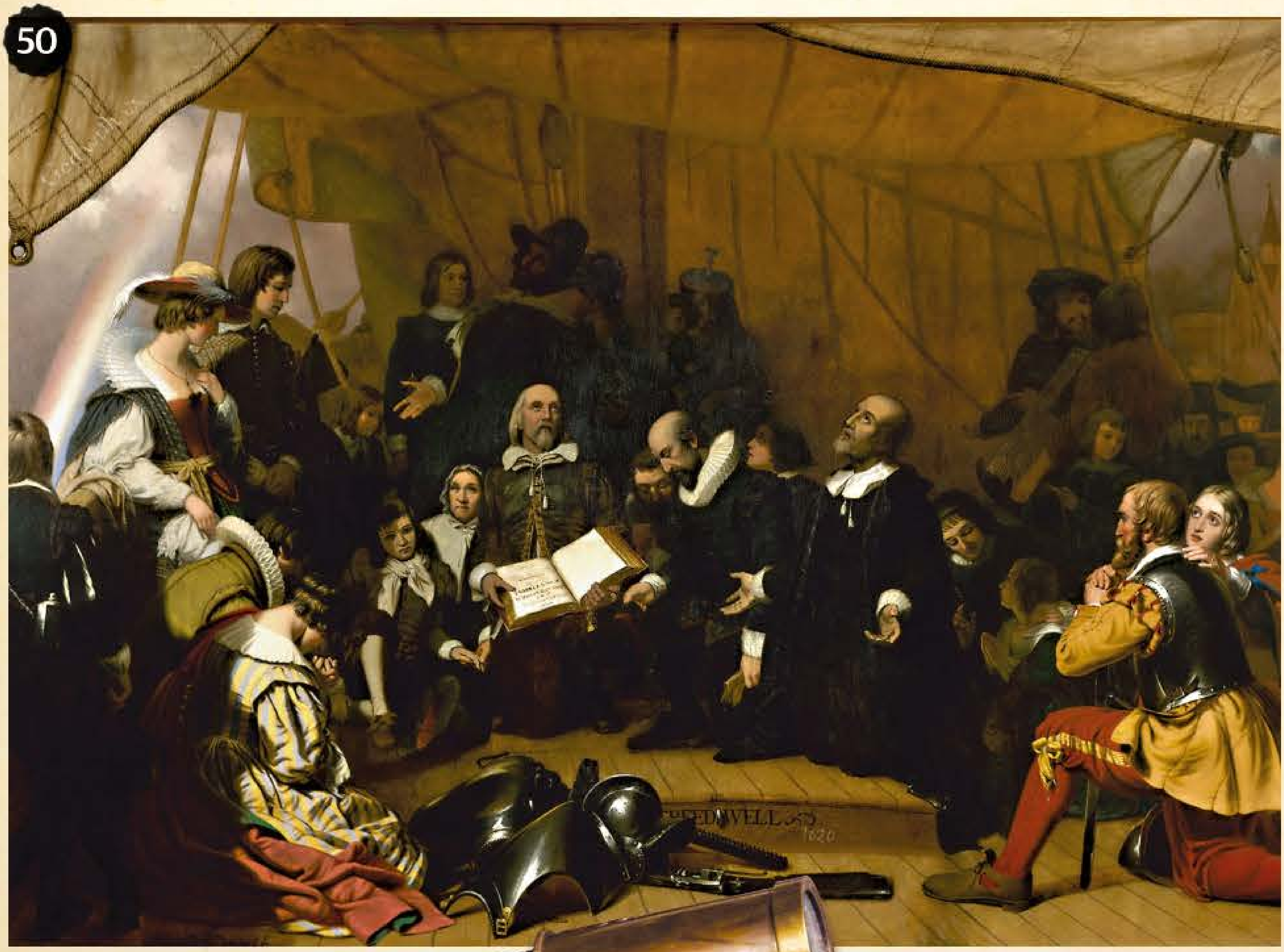
84 The first Thanksgiving
How a peace treaty between the Wampanoag and the Pilgrims gave birth to America's most popular holiday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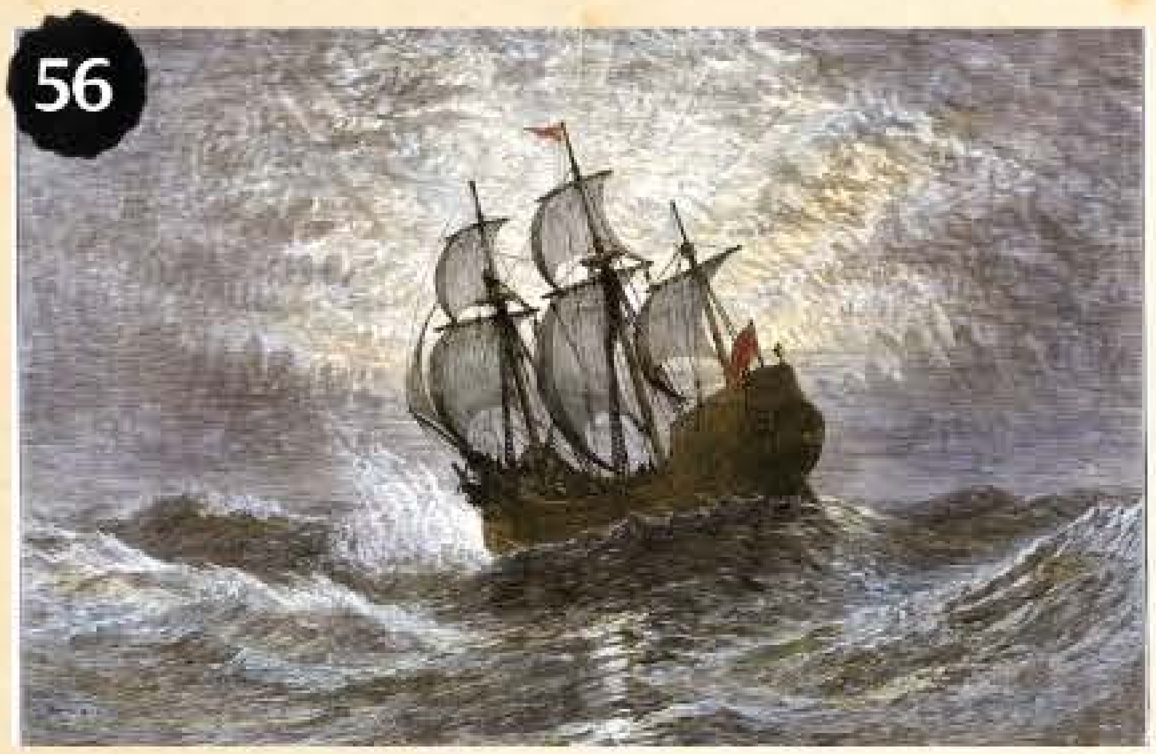

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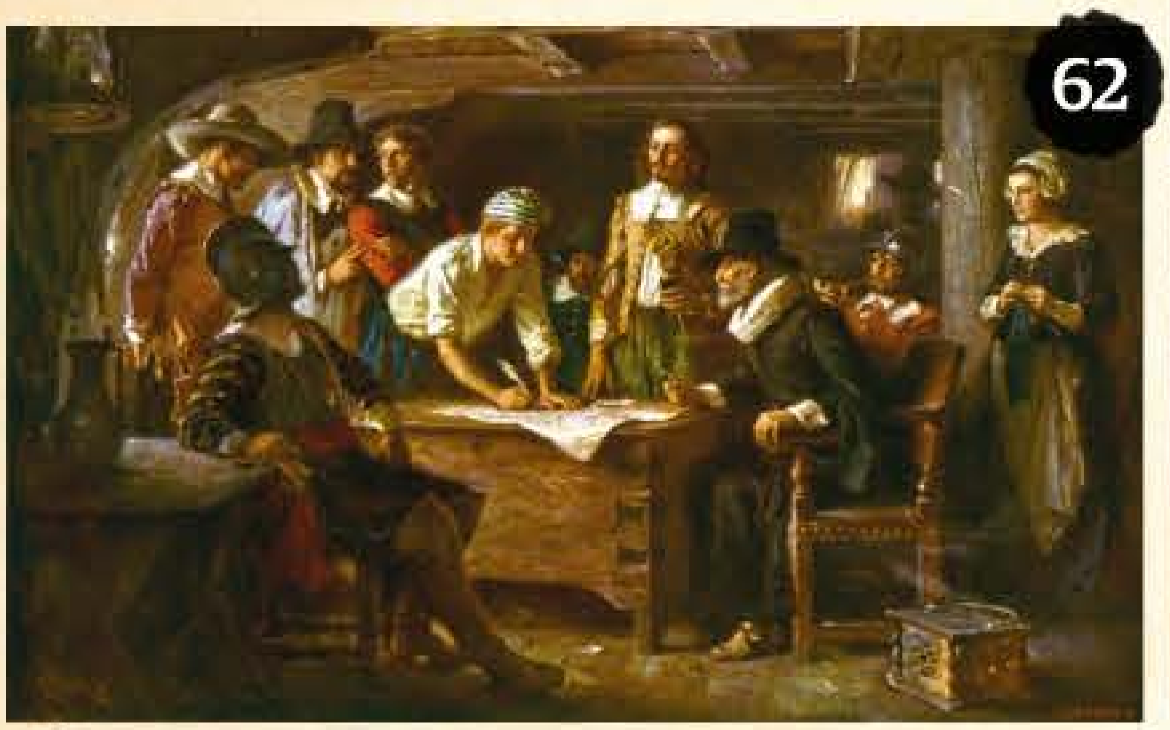

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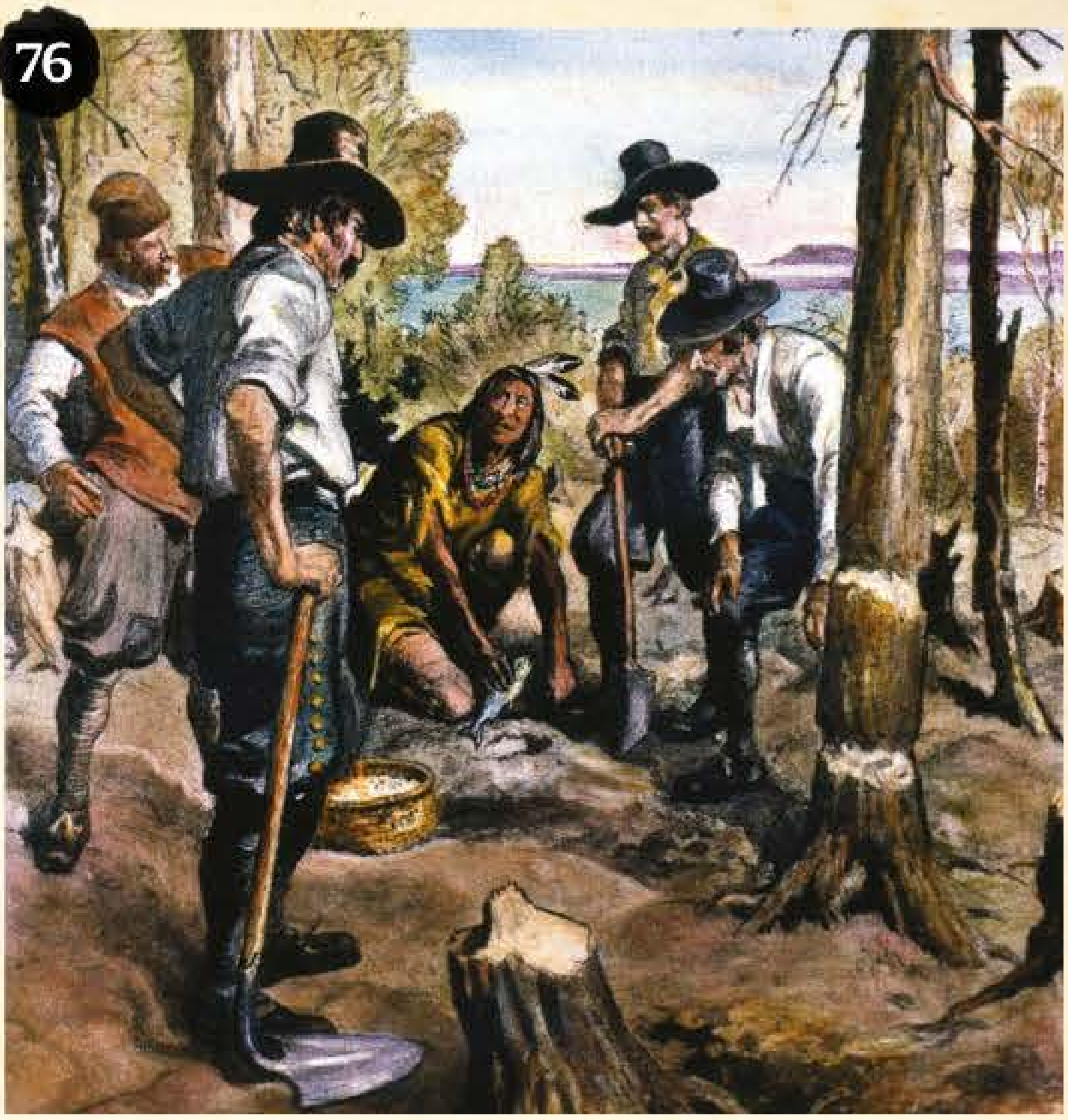

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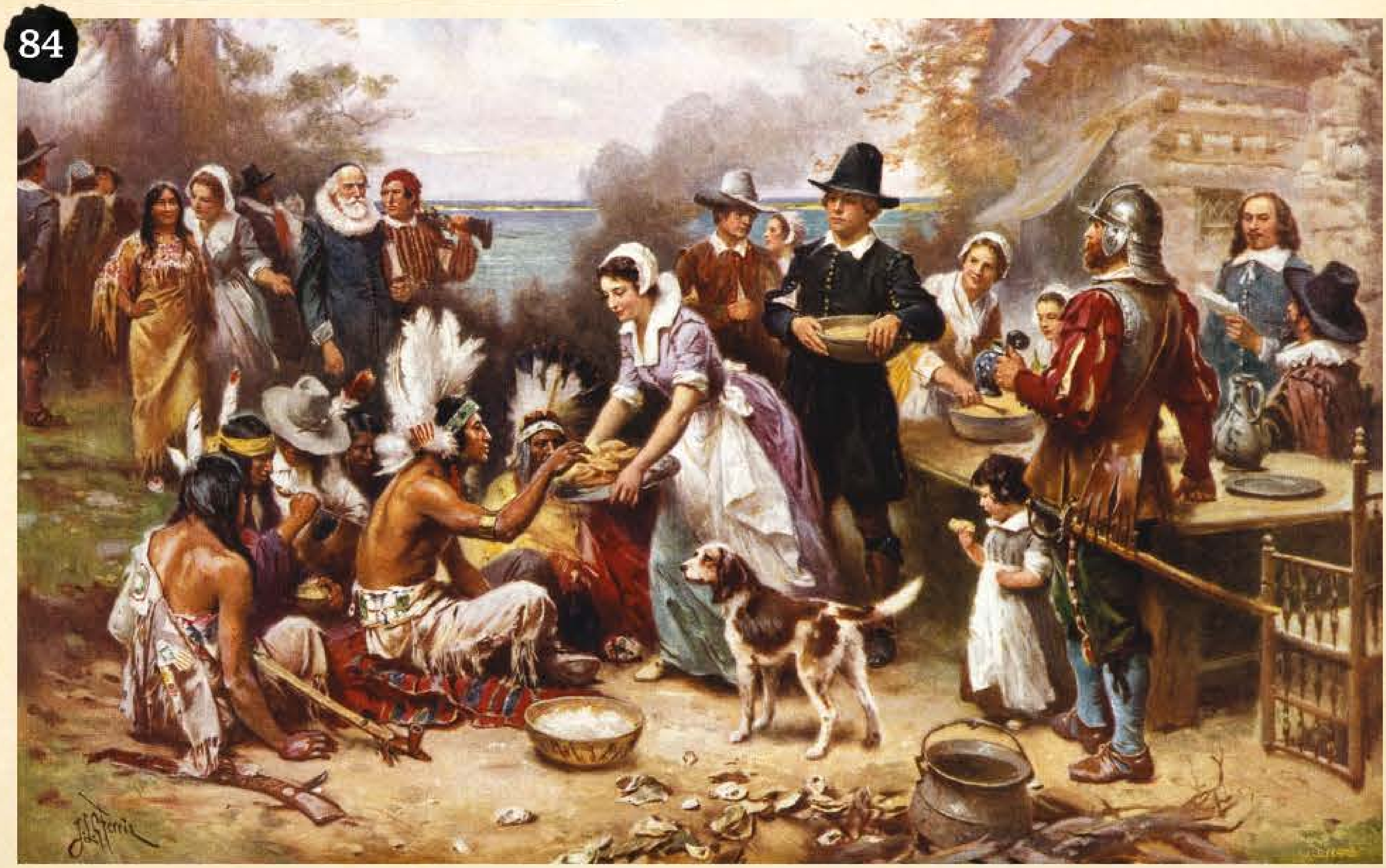
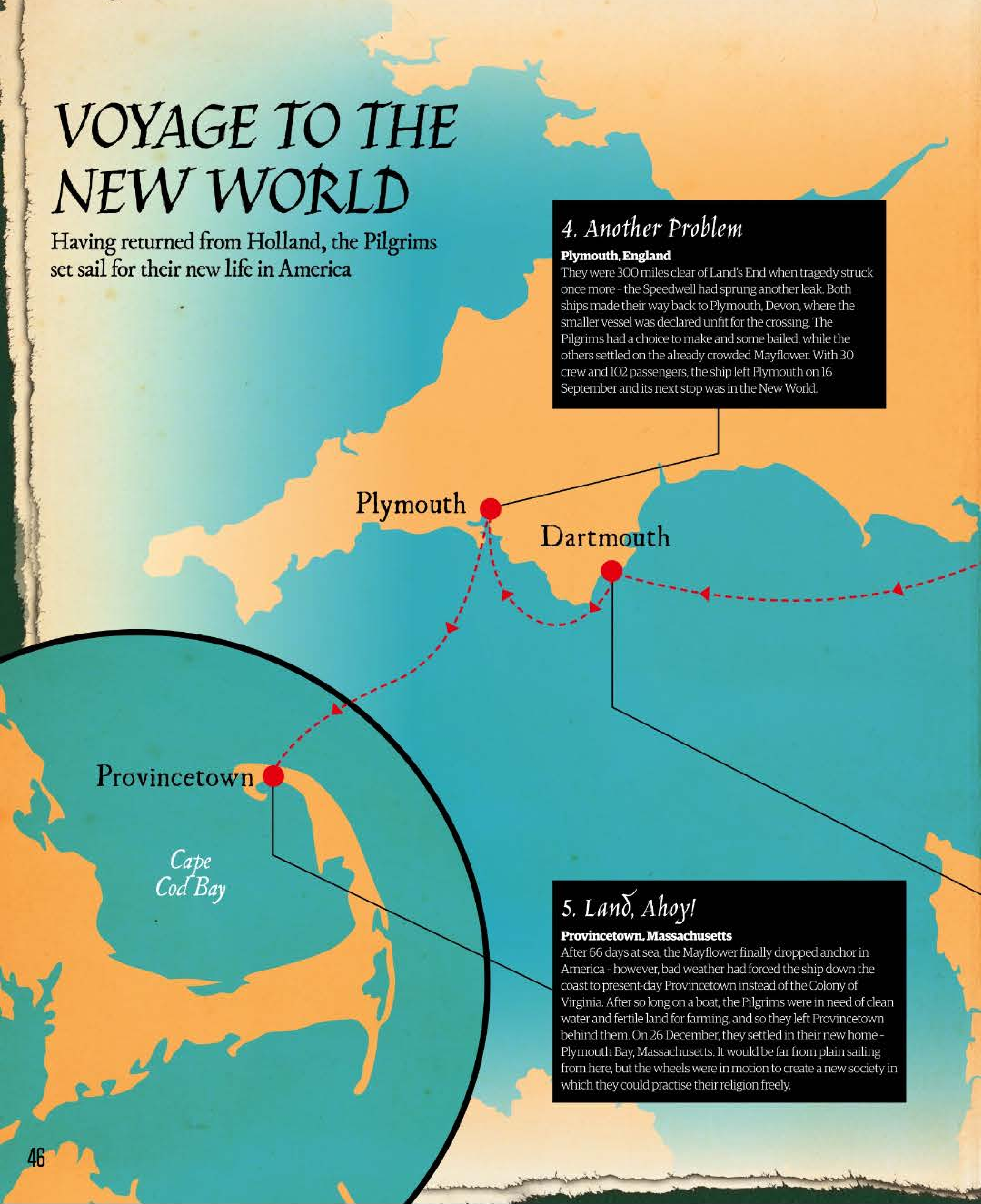


VOYAGE TO THE NEW WORLD

Having returned from Holland, the Pilgrims set sail for their new life in America



4. Another Problem

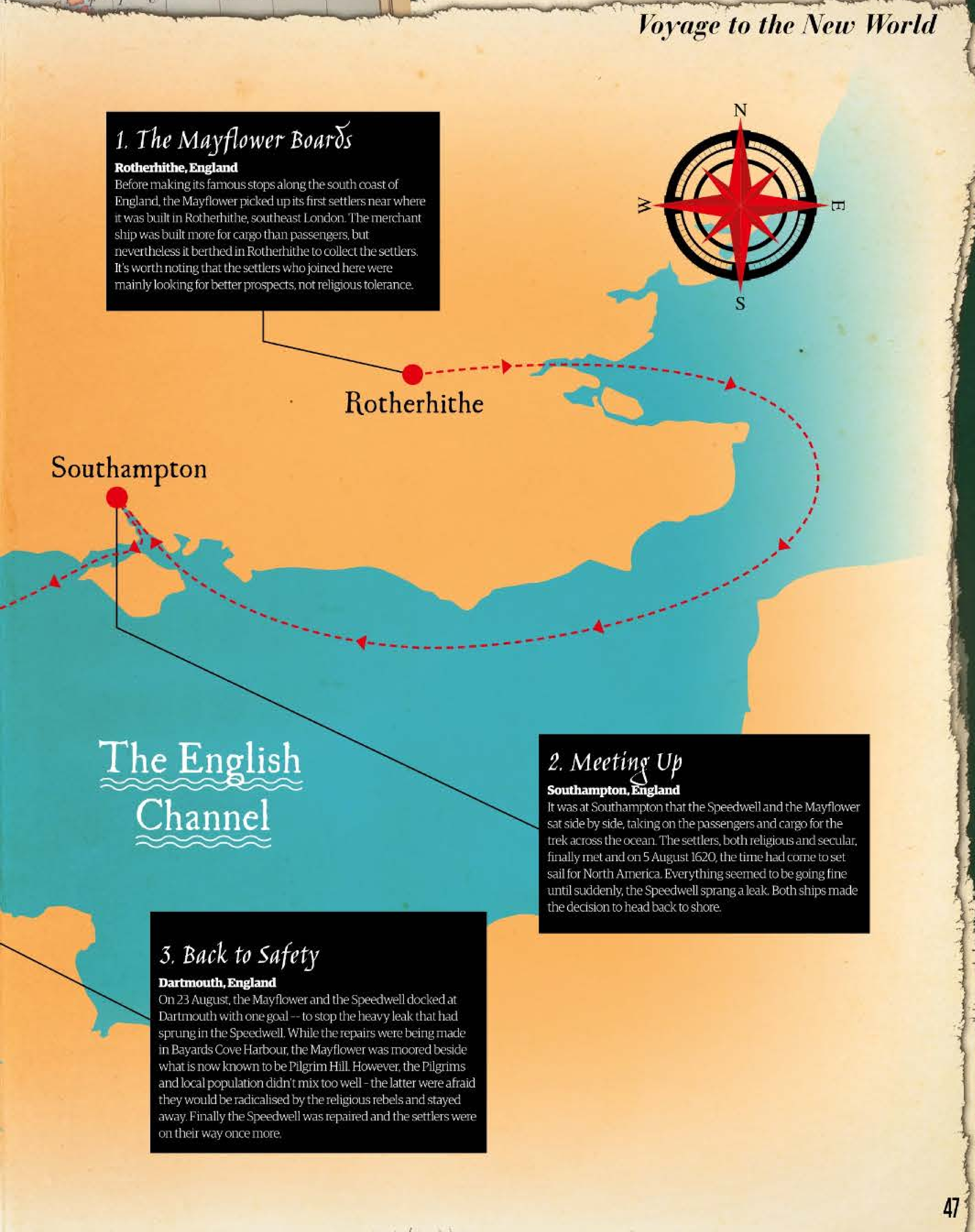
Plymouth, England

They were 300 miles clear of Land's End when tragedy struck once more – the Speedwell had sprung another leak. Both ships made their way back to Plymouth, Devon, where the smaller vessel was declared unfit for the crossing. The Pilgrims had a choice to make and some bailed, while the others settled on the already crowded Mayflower. With 30 crew and 102 passengers, the ship left Plymouth on 16 September and its next stop was in the New World.

5. Land, Ahoy!

Provincetown, Massachusetts

After 66 days at sea, the Mayflower finally dropped anchor in America – however, bad weather had forced the ship down the coast to present-day Provincetown instead of the Colony of Virginia. After so long on a boat, the Pilgrims were in need of clean water and fertile land for farming, and so they left Provincetown behind them. On 26 December, they settled in their new home – Plymouth Bay, Massachusetts. It would be far from plain sailing from here, but the wheels were in motion to create a new society in which they could practise their religion freely.



1. The Mayflower Boards

Rotherhithe, England

Before making its famous stops along the south coast of England, the Mayflower picked up its first settlers near where it was built in Rotherhithe, southeast London. The merchant ship was built more for cargo than passengers, but nevertheless it berthed in Rotherhithe to collect the settlers. It's worth noting that the settlers who joined here were mainly looking for better prospects, not religious tolerance.

2. Meeting Up

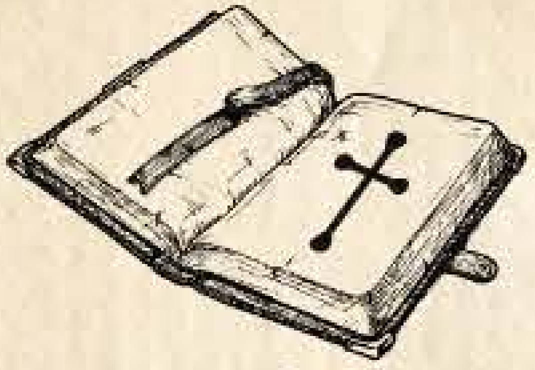
Southampton, England

It was at Southampton that the Speedwell and the Mayflower sat side by side, taking on the passengers and cargo for the trek across the ocean. The settlers, both religious and secular, finally met and on 5 August 1620, the time had come to set sail for North America. Everything seemed to be going fine until suddenly, the Speedwell sprang a leak. Both ships made the decision to head back to shore.

3. Back to Safety

Dartmouth, England

On 23 August, the Mayflower and the Speedwell docked at Dartmouth with one goal -- to stop the heavy leak that had sprung in the Speedwell. While the repairs were being made in Bayards Cove Harbour, the Mayflower was moored beside what is now known to be Pilgrim Hill. However, the Pilgrims and local population didn't mix too well - the latter were afraid they would be radicalised by the religious rebels and stayed away. Finally the Speedwell was repaired and the settlers were on their way once more.



The Longtime Governor

WORDS BY: *Mike Haskew*

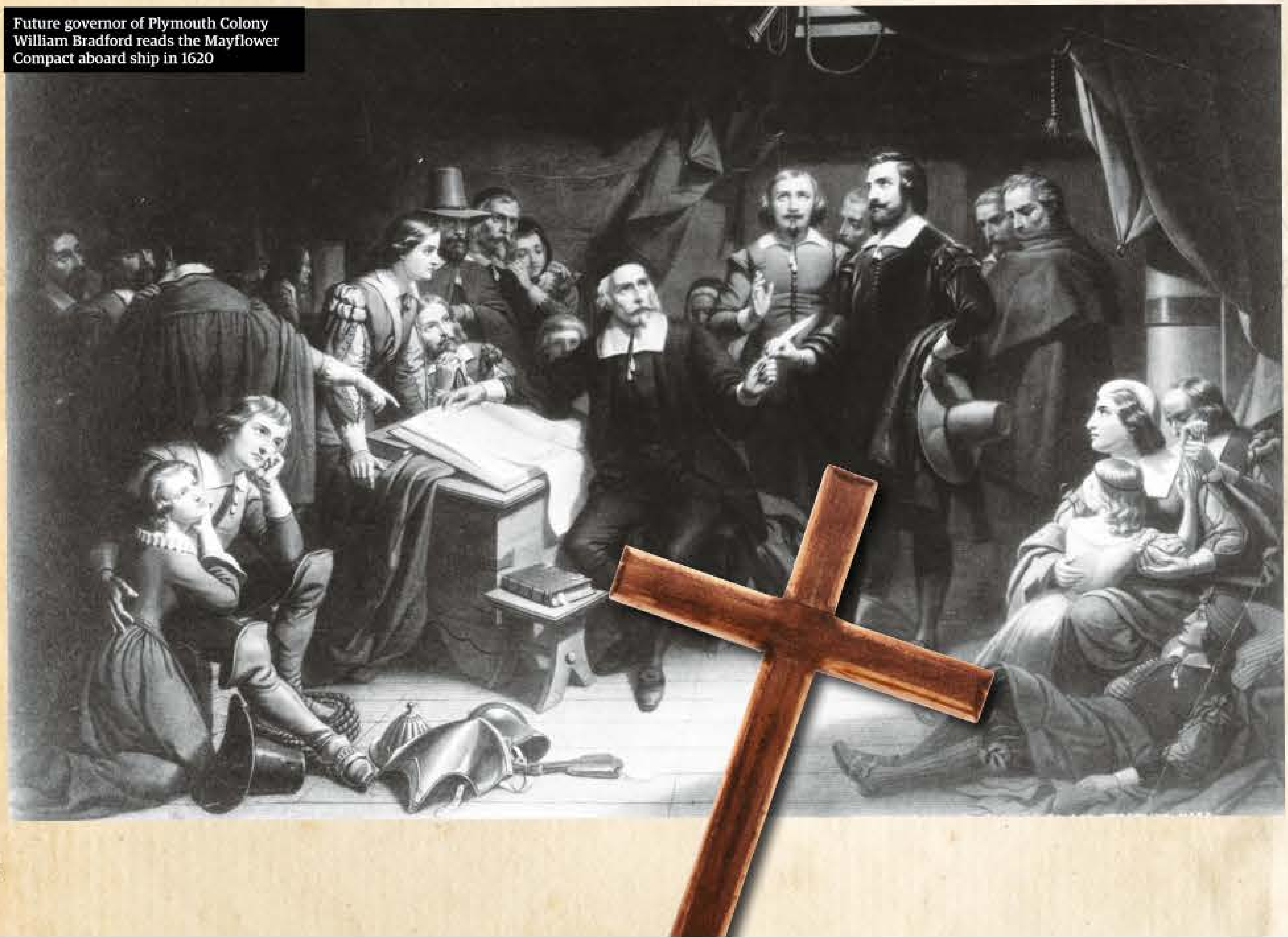
William Bradford led Plymouth Colony as governor during three decades and chronicled the story of the settlement

His spiritual awakening occurred early in life. As a teenager William Bradford committed to the Separatist splinter group that detached from the Puritan wave of reformists intent on changing the Anglican Church from within. Bradford and others believed that the only solution was to leave the Church of England - spiritually and physically.

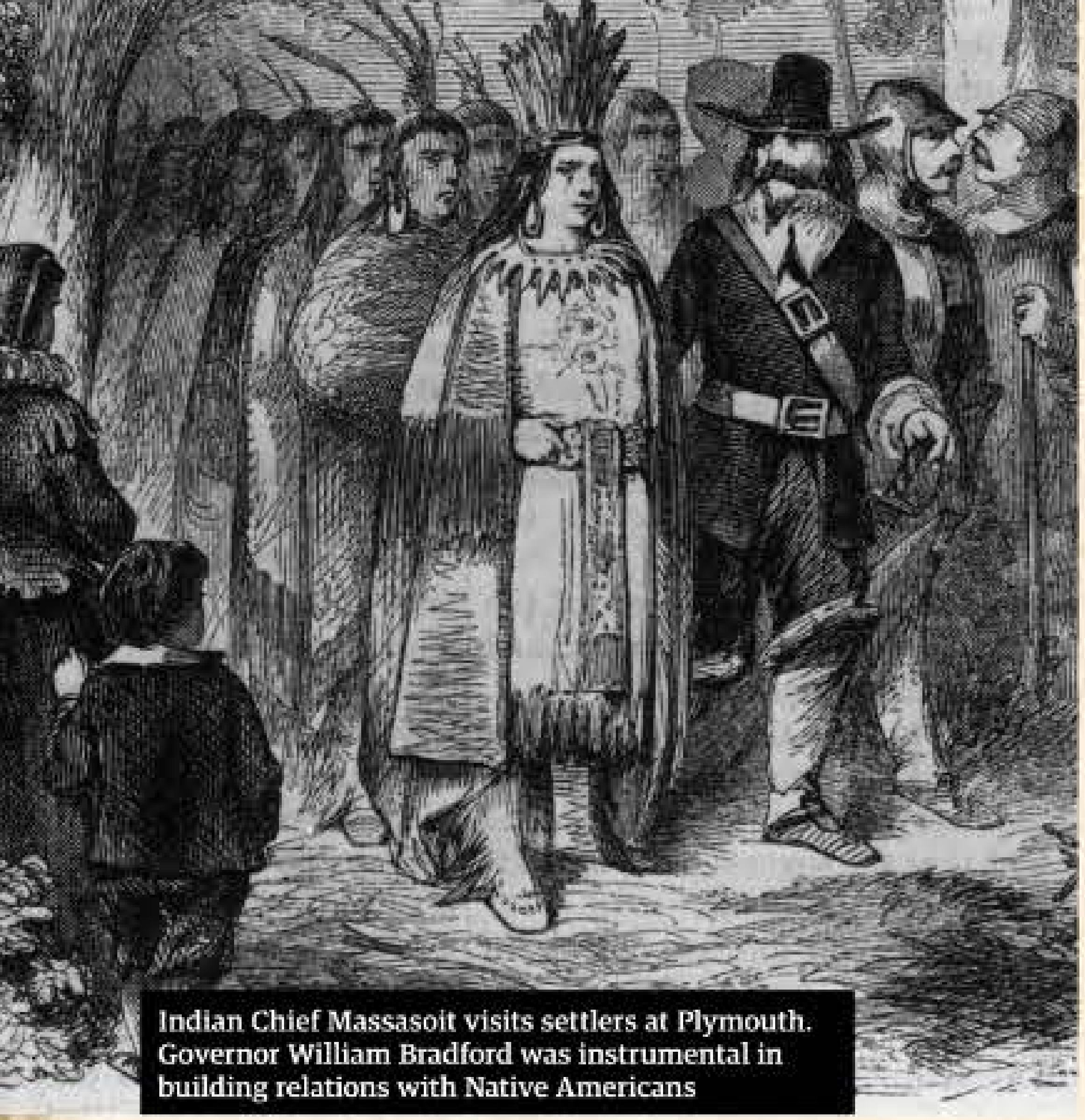
The most influential leader of the 'Pilgrim' settlers at Plymouth Colony, Bradford contributed to the stability of the settlement, exhibited tolerance of those who had come to America but were not members of their sect, established civil and governmental processes, and made crucial decisions that ensured the survival of the settlement after the harsh winter of 1621.

Bradford was born in late 1589 or early 1590 in the West Riding of Yorkshire and experienced personal tragedy at a young age. Both his parents and his grandfather had died by the time he was seven, and while living with uncles he began attending secretive religious meetings at Scrooby Manor near his home. Although his uncles frowned upon this break with tradition, the message of reform and separation resonated with the boy, reinforced by the influence of William Brewster, a prominent citizen who loaned Bradford books and told stories of the effort to reform the Church.

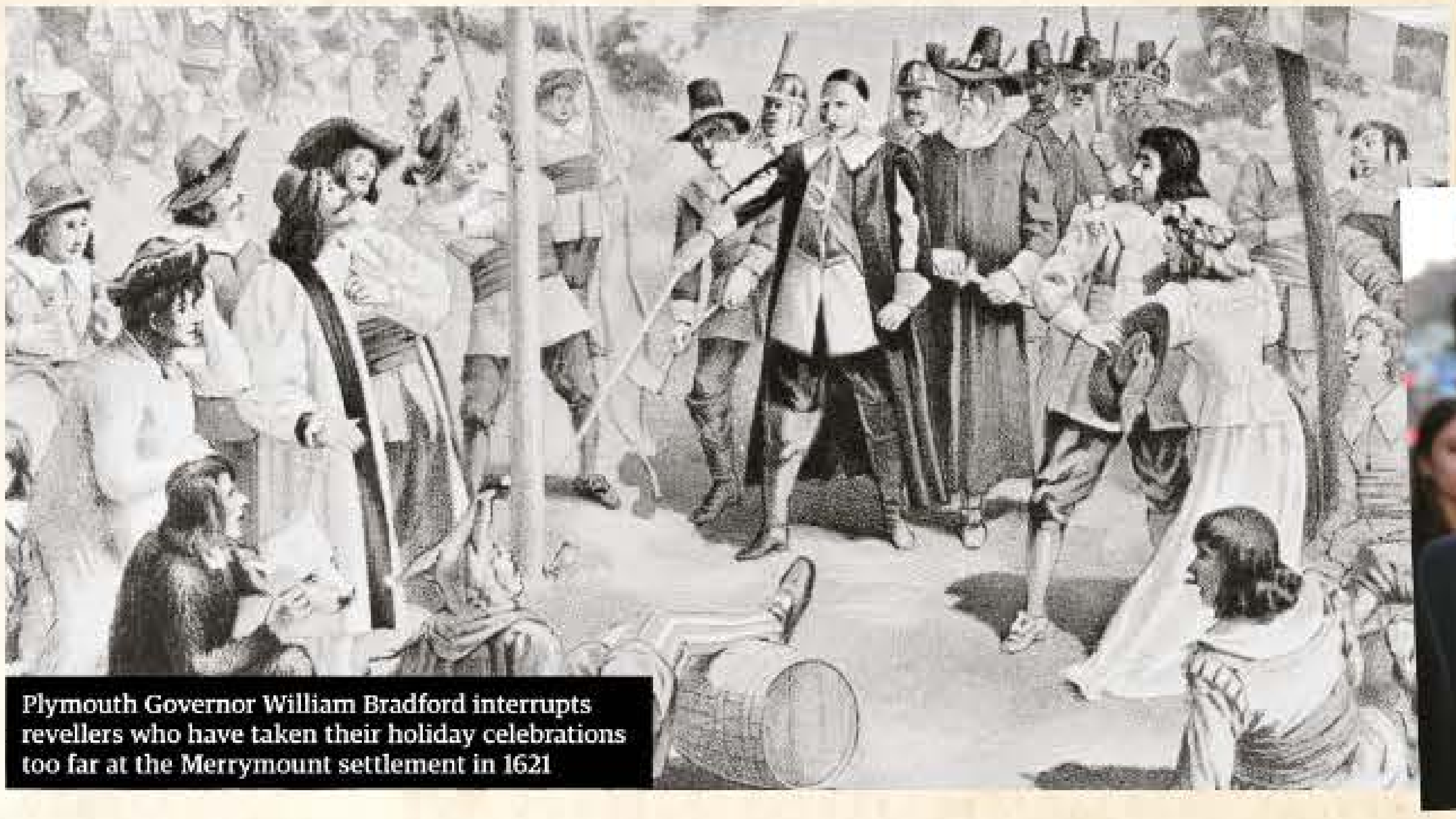
By 1607, the Scrooby congregation had determined to leave England for the Netherlands, where they



Future governor of Plymouth Colony William Bradford reads the Mayflower Compact aboard ship in 1620


Indian Chief Massasoit visits settlers at Plymouth. Governor William Bradford was instrumental in building relations with Native Americans

WILLIAM BRADFORD
GOVERNOR AND HISTORIAN
OF THE
A statue at Plymouth honours the memory of Governor William Bradford, who led the colony for many years

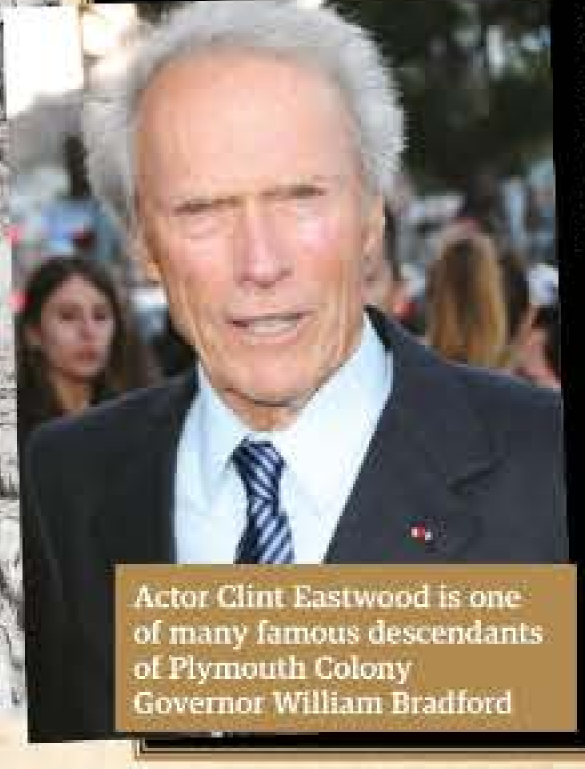

Plymouth Governor William Bradford interrupts revellers who have taken their holiday celebrations too far at the Merrymount settlement in 1621

The Bradford Line

Descendants of William Bradford continue to shape the USA

For centuries after his death, William Bradford has continued to influence the course of events, particularly in the United States and in American culture, through his descendants. These noteworthy individuals have become prominent in a variety of professions and avocations.

Among them are actors Clint Eastwood, John Lithgow, Christopher Reeve, Sally Field, and the four Baldwin brothers, Alec, Daniel, Stephen and William. Politician Adlai Stevenson III, Democratic senator from Illinois, William Rehnquist, former Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, General George B McClellan, who led the Union Army of the Potomac during the American Civil War and opposed Abraham Lincoln in the presidential election of 1864, are descended from Bradford, as are renowned intelligence operative and chef Julia Child, author and children's advocate Dr Benjamin Spock, and Telford Taylor, who was a prosecutor of Nazi war criminals during the Nuremberg Trials after World War II. Noah Webster, developer of Webster's Dictionary, George Eastman, inventor and founder of Eastman Kodak Company, and Franklin Nelson Doubleday of the publishing dynasty are among Bradford's descendants as well. Playboy founder Hugh Hefner claimed to be descended from Bradford, but the Mayflower Society has since disproved Hefner's assertion.


Actor Clint Eastwood is one of many famous descendants of Plymouth Colony Governor William Bradford

hoped to find religious tolerance. Bradford departed with the group led by Reverend John Robinson and lived there for 11 years, most of the time in the town of Ley§den. Later, the growing influence of the Dutch way of life prompted the Separatists to relocate once again, this time to North America.

Bradford arranged the financial support needed for the voyage across the Atlantic and was involved in negotiations with the government in London for permission to settle in the northern part of the Virginia Colony. When the journey finally began in September 1620, the Speedwell proved to be structurally unsound, and many of its passengers were transferred to the Mayflower off the coast of England as both ships shared the same destination. The ship Mayflower endured rough seas, and its passengers suffered mightily in extremely cramped conditions before land was sighted in November, far to the north of the intended point of arrival.

> "Bradford's parents and his grandfather had died by the time he was seven"

Bradford was one of the first men to sign the Mayflower Compact prior to coming ashore. He participated in expeditions to locate a suitable place to establish their settlement. An abandoned Native village called Patuxet was chosen in December, but while he was away Bradford's wife, Dorothy, fell overboard from the Mayflower and drowned.

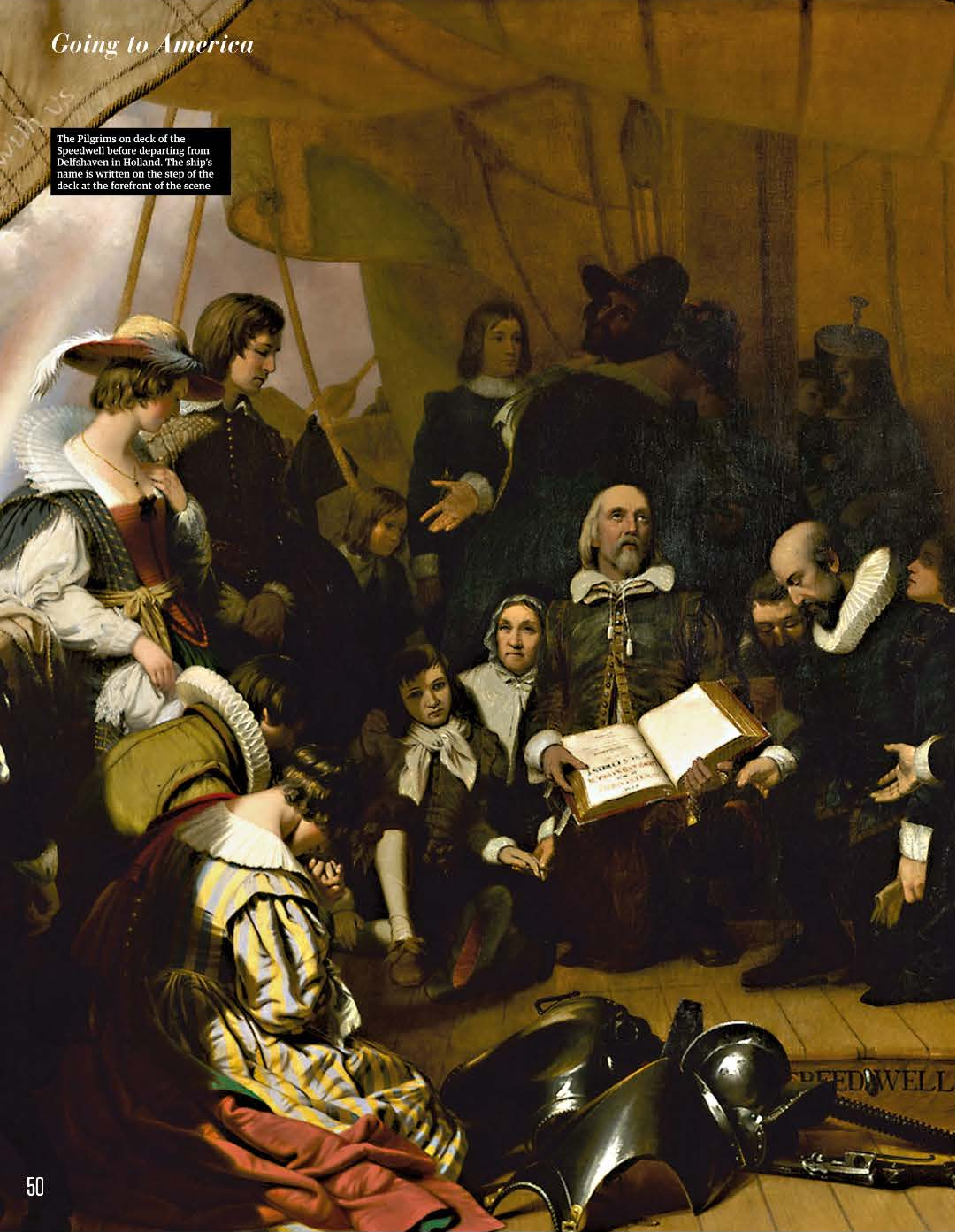
As they undertook construction of shelters, the settlers endured terrible sickness, starvation, and the harsh New England winter. At the height of the misery, people died at a rate of up to three per day. Bradford survived a bout of illness. By the spring of 1621, roughly half the Pilgrims had perished. While working in a field in April, Governor John Carver collapsed and then died a few days later.

Already a man of considerable influence, Bradford was elected governor of the Plymouth Colony, an office that he held intermittently for around 30 years. On 14 August 1623, he married Alice Southworth, who had arrived at Plymouth a few weeks earlier aboard the ship Anne.

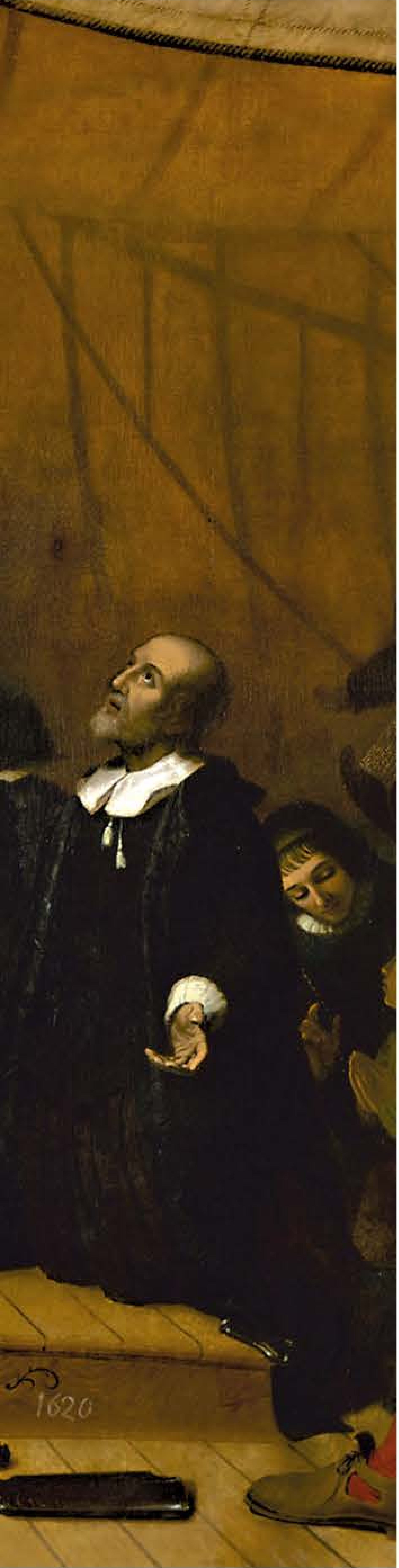
Desiring to document the experience of the settlers at Plymouth, Bradford began to write his landmark, two-volume history titled *Of Plymouth Plantation* about 1630. The story of the trials, tribulations and triumphs of the Pilgrims at Plymouth through to the year 1646 has been described as the basis for American history, and Bradford is remembered as a great storyteller who sought to demonstrate the hand of divine providence in the experience for the benefit of future generations.

Bradford exercised tremendous authority, presiding over the General Court, the local legislative body, while serving as judge and treasurer. He participated in the drafting of the legal code that governed the colony and reformed the failed collective agriculture measures that restricted production by offering land grants to individuals and promoting trade with surplus crop yields. One of five men who assumed the colony's debt to its financiers in England in exchange for fishing and fur trading rights, Bradford and the others serviced the obligation for more than 20 years, finally extinguishing it in 1648.

Active as a leader of Plymouth Colony throughout his adult life, Bradford is remembered as a moderate who fostered and maintained a common purpose for the people. He died at Plymouth, age 68, on 9 May 1657, after years of service that laid the cornerstone for the survival and future of the settlement.



The Pilgrims on deck of the Speedwell before departing from Delfshaven in Holland. The ship's name is written on the step of the deck at the forefront of the scene



An Impossible Start

WORDS BY: *Derek Wilson*

The Pilgrims had plucked up courage for their brave sea voyage but everything seemed to be stacked against them

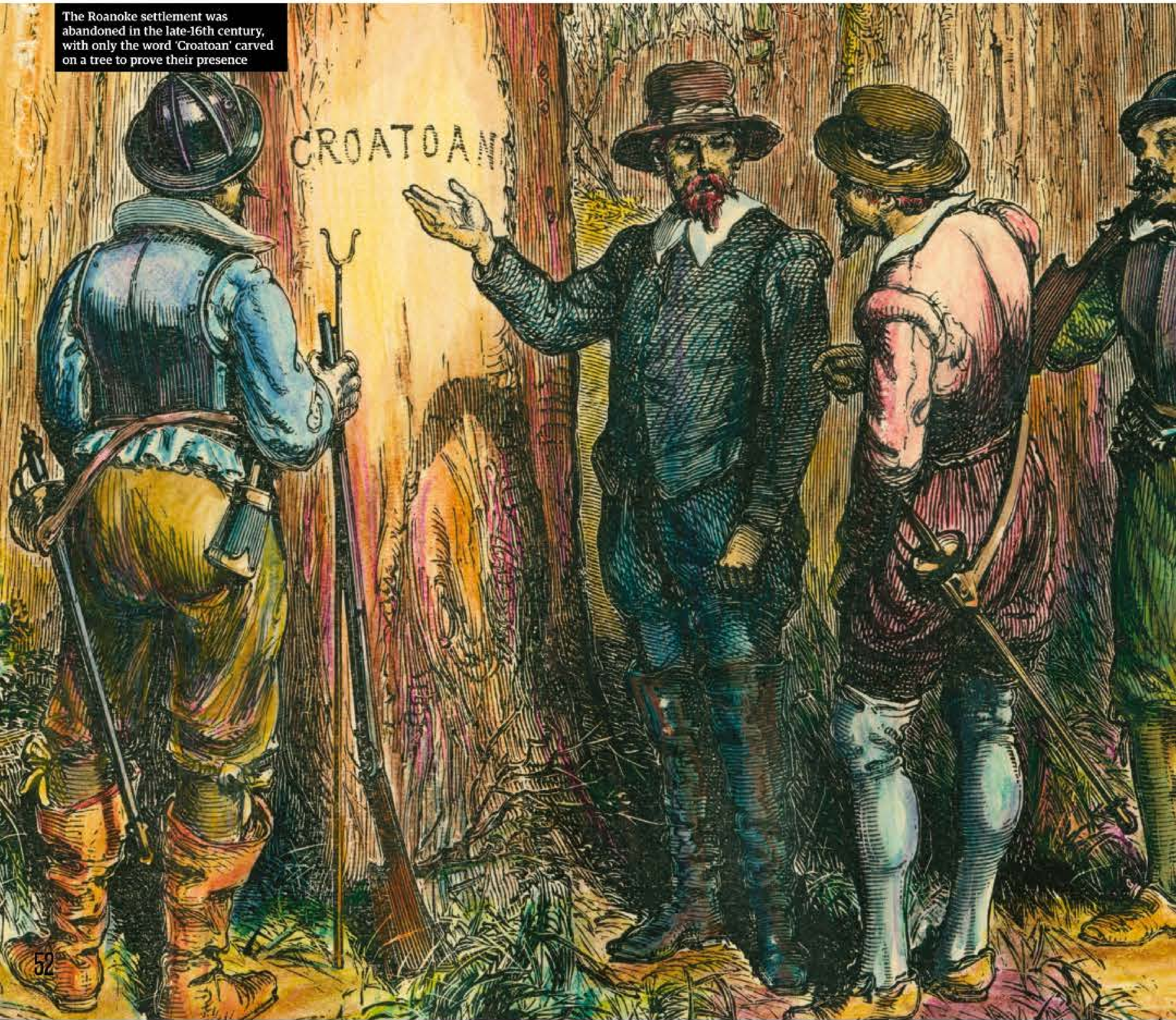
Considering the uncertainties and risks involved in the Mayflower voyage, it is a wonder that the ship ever set sail. It was only the tenacity of a handful of ardent Separatists who believed, wrongly, that they could establish the perfect church that led to the creation of a new colony. They represented the hardline element in John Robinson's Leyden community, who clung to the original vision of creating a perfect Christian commonwealth. They were the 'ultimate Separatists', convinced that only by shaking off the corruption and doctrinal compromises involved in European church life (of all kinds) could they live a common life pleasing to God. Their options were narrowing, year on year. There were divisions in their own Church. There were difficult relations with the host community. There was a real prospect of hostilities beginning again between the Dutch Republic and Spain. There was no possibility of returning to England. Yet to remain in the Netherlands would almost certainly mean absorption into the larger population.

To join the westward drift of colonists, who, over the previous century, had established coastal settlements on the vast, unexplored American landmass was the only remaining alternative. By founding another Eden in virgin territory where there were no other inhabitants to exercise a malign influence (indigenous 'savages' did not count), they would be able to live the godly life the Creator had always intended for humankind. But even the omens for this solution were far from encouraging - for two reasons. First of all, previous experiments had not gone well. The Roanoke settlements (1586-87) had disappeared with the presumed loss of all the colonists. Attempts to plant colonies at Cuttyhunk Island (1602), Popham Colony (1607-08) and Cuper's Cove (1610-20) had failed. Jamestown had only survived after appalling disasters which reduced the 214 original settlers to 60. Though some ventures launched by various countries eventually succeeded, reports reaching Europe spoke of terrible hardship. The second problem - and one which for the Leyden Separatists posed fundamental, spiritual problems - was that to succeed they would need the financial backing and practical support of politicians and merchants whose primary concern was material gain. The region the Pilgrims decided upon had been claimed by England, and its exploitation had been granted by royal charter in 1609 to the Virginia Company of London (usually known as the 'London Company'), a joint stock company. Thanks to extensive, government-backed propaganda, 1,700 investors poured money into the company in its first year. What sort of settlers were the London Company looking for? From the investors' point of view the ideal colonists were farmers and craftsmen who could rapidly establish viable agriculture and cottage industries. They were certainly not planning to provide a haven for religious dissidents. In fact, every would-be settler had to acknowledge loyalty to the king and his Church. It is not surprising that the Leyden folk thought long and hard about when and where to go. They even considered heading for Guiana, where Sir Walter Raleigh's El Dorado expedition came to grief in 1618. Several members of Robinson's congregation pulled out of the project at various stages, leaving only a hardcore of voyagers who either believed totally that God was calling them or who, having exhausted their material resources, had nothing to lose.

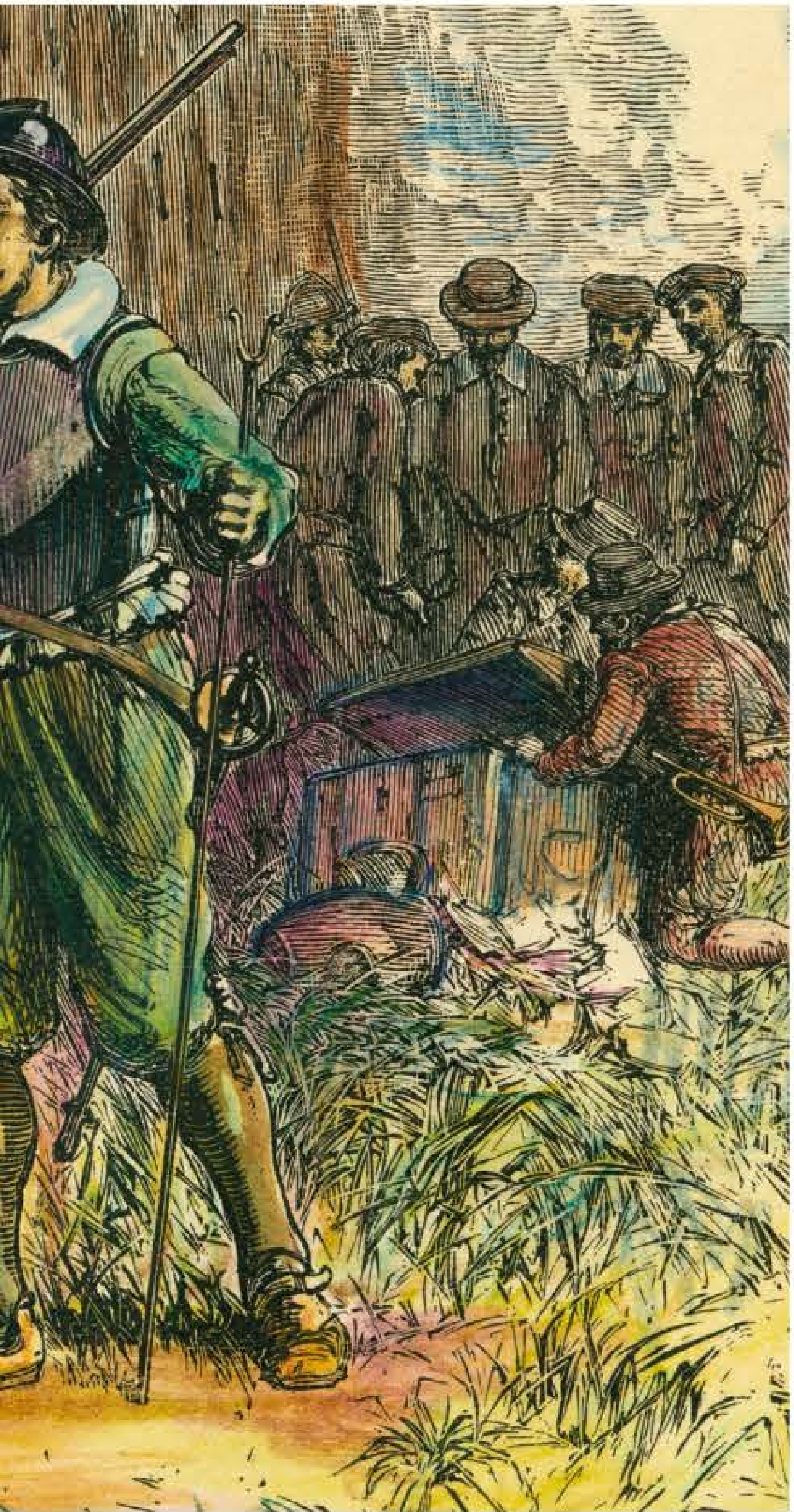
William Brewster, senior elder in the Leyden Church, was charged with the task of travelling to London to open negotiations. However, in 1619, when King James took objection to Brewster's publishing activities and issued a warrant for his arrest, Brewster had to go into hiding. His place was taken by Robert Cushman (1577-1625) and John Carver (1584-1621), both of whom seem to have been men of energy and efficiency who, however much they deplored 'worldly' politics, knew how to work the system. What they did not know they were to learn the hard way. Cushman had had several brushes with the law before his departure for Holland. His uncompromising principles are clear from the title of a book he wrote describing his move to Leyden and his life in the community there: *The Cry of a Stone – a Treatise Showing What is Right Matter, Form and Government of the Visible Church of Christ*. Carver was John Robinson's brother-in-law, husband to Katherine Robinson's younger sister. He was also a man of some means who invested in the London Company and contributed substantially from his own resources to the purchasing of supplies for the Atlantic crossing.

Finance was, of course, crucial to the enterprise and in such matters most of the voyagers were naïve. Initially they looked to bankers in Amsterdam as their principal backers. Then Thomas Weston came on the scene. He was a London ironmonger and a member of the Merchants Adventurers, an ancient association of leading businessmen devoted to the development of overseas trade. Weston, who shared the convictions of the Leyden congregation, handled the smuggling of some of Brewster's books into England. He shared an interest in the American project and persuaded Robinson's people to abandon the Dutch financiers in favour of a consortium he set up with some of his Merchant Adventurers' colleagues. He must have been a smooth talker because Robinson, Carver and Cushman agreed to his contract terms – terms which gave him almost complete control of their operation. Only when they arrived in London did the Leyden agents discover that Weston was better at promises than deeds.

The Pilgrims were simply out of their depth when dealing with men of the world. They did, however,



The Roanoke settlement was abandoned in the late-16th century, with only the word 'Croatoan' carved on a tree to prove their presence fare better when they turned for assistance to Sir Edwin Sandys. As well as being one of the leading figures in the London Company, Sandys was also an energetic member of Parliament and one of the most adroit politicians of the age. In response to his guidance, Cushman and Carver agreed seven articles to be signed by the settlers confirming their allegiance to the king and the established Church. Presumably the Leyden folk squared this with their conscience knowing that without their submission their project would be dead in the water. Much hard bargaining went on between the Company men and the Separatists and pragmatism triumphed over principle on both sides. If the Leyden folk had to make compromises, so did the holders of the royal charter. They desperately needed to find settlers and



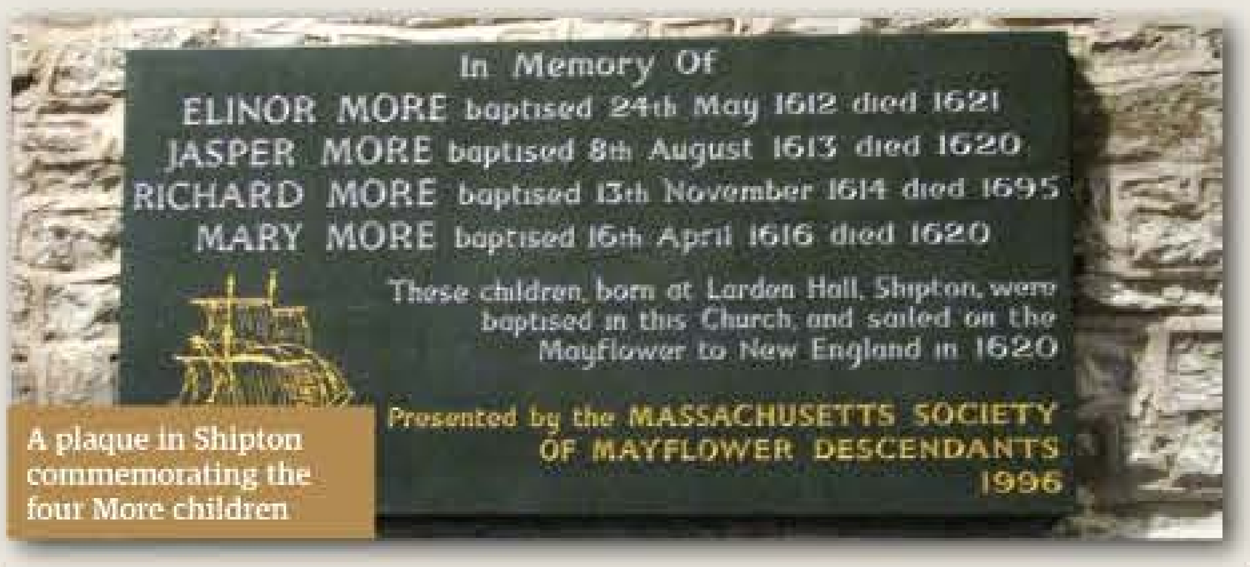
"Weston handled the smuggling of some of Brewster's books into England"

The sad story of four children

A treacherous journey turned tragic for some

We are so accustomed to associating the Mayflower voyage with the Pilgrim Fathers that we can easily miss other aspects of the bigger picture. People found themselves on the passenger list for a variety of reasons. Several of them were transported away from home, friends and family with no say in the matter whatsoever. Some were servants to the wealthier passengers. For example, John Carver and his wife were accompanied by five servants. Some were 'undesirables' – criminals, troublemakers or vagrants. There was nothing noble about their migration. The saddest – and, certainly the most notorious – story of forced transportation was that of the More children.

Samuel More was a substantial Shropshire landowner who numbered among his friends Edward, Lord Zouche, a leading member of the London Company. Between 1610 and 1614 his wife, Catherine, gave birth to four children. Samuel declined parentage, claiming that the infants (two boys and two girls) were the result of an adulterous liaison between Catherine and a neighbour, Jacob Blakeway. Catherine never denied this assertion. Her claim (which she tried unsuccessfully to make in the courts) was that she had been pre-contracted to Blakeway and that her marriage was, therefore, bigamous. However, the children were, officially, Samuel's and he was determined that none of them should have a claim on his estate. Somehow, therefore, the children had to be got rid of. He persuaded Lord Zouche to add their names to the Speedwell passenger list. Despite the efforts of their distraught mother, the infants were whisked away to London and subsequently entrusted to the care of John Carver and Robert Cushman. They were entered on the passenger role as indentured servants. It is difficult to imagine their mental suffering and it is no surprise that three of them, within three months of reaching North America were dead. More difficult is it to understand the part played in this sordid affair by the high-principled Cushman and Carver.



In Memory Of
ELINOR MORE baptised 24th May 1612 died 1621
JASPER MORE baptised 8th August 1613 died 1620
RICHARD MORE baptised 13th November 1614 died 1695
MARY MORE baptised 16th April 1616 died 1620

These children, born at Larden Hall, Shipton, were
baptised in this Church, and sailed on the
Mayflower to New England in 1620

Presented by the MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY
OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS
1996

A plaque in Shipton commemorating the four More children could not afford to be choosey. As for the Pilgrims' agents, in order to achieve their objectives they were drawn into duplicity. Though unhappy about the compromises being forced upon them by associates driven by profit motive they did not refer them back to their brethren in Leyden. To have done so would have involved them in lengthy wrangling over issues of principle and could well have led to the collapse of the whole venture. Some of the original volunteers did, indeed, become disillusioned and pull out.

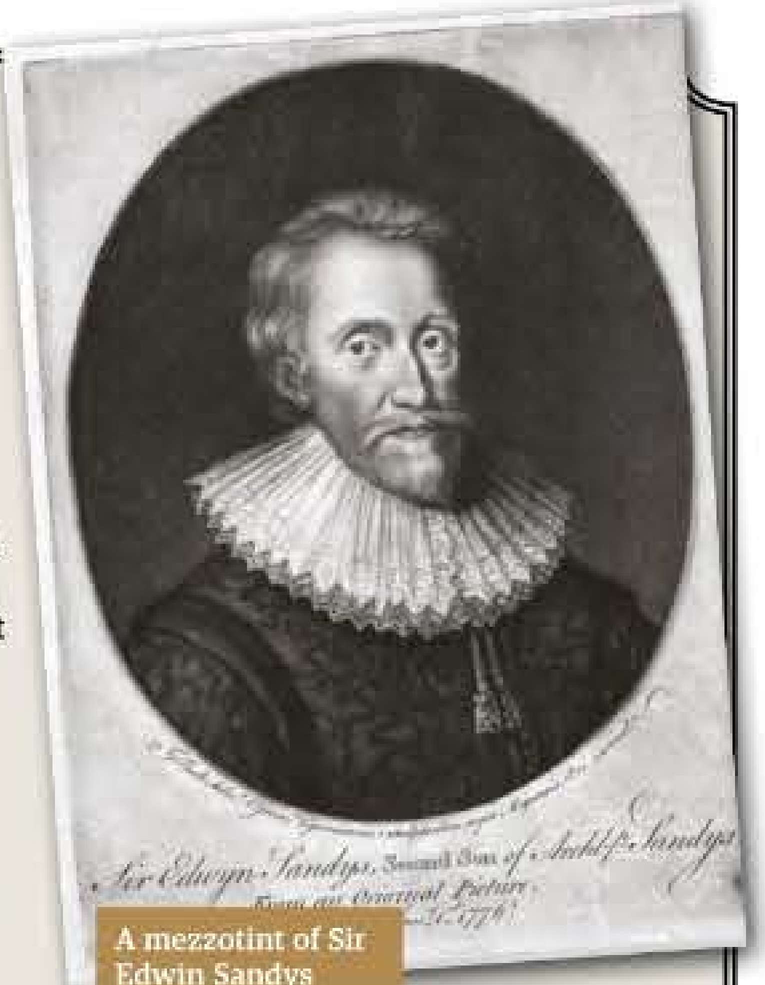
The Leyden community, it would seem, were as ignorant of shipbuilding as they were of high finance. They bought a two-masted, 60-ton pinnace, the Speedwell, to convey themselves to Southampton where they would link up with the Mayflower, the vessel chartered by the London Company for the transatlantic crossing. Pinnaces were lightweight craft used in naval activities for conveying men, supplies and messages from ship to ship or ship to shore. The Speedwell had been laid down in 1577 and was a veteran of the Armada campaign. In terms of 17th-century maritime activity, at 43 years old the Speedwell was fast approaching her sell-by date. She underwent a refit at Delfshaven, but either the work was poorly done or the ship was simply too old. One contemporary account claimed the new mainmast with which the pinnace was fitted was too large and carried more sail than was appropriate to the size of the ship. This would mean that undue strain was placed on the hull. Alternatively, it might be that the Speedwell was just too old. Before she reached England she was already taking in water.

Anxious to be away before the autumn, the Leyden contingent embarked at Delfshaven on 22 July 1620. The plan was that the Separatist community would travel in the Speedwell while the much larger contingent of London Company settlers would be aboard the Mayflower. On arrival in America, the Mayflower would be the main means of contact between the Old World and the New, carrying new settlers and supplies to the colonists and bringing thence a steadily increasing volume of produce, the results of the settlers' industry. The Speedwell would be used for fishing and other activities in inshore waters. This tidy scheme was scuppered before it even began by the unseaworthy Speedwell. When the two ships rendezvoused in Southampton, everyone - especially the crews - were anxious to lose no more time. They wanted to be away before the autumn gales set in. They were frustrated. Further repairs to the Speedwell caused another week's delay. It was 5 August before the two ships were able to cast off.

They only managed to remain at sea for a few days. Having covered a mere 75 miles they put in to the small Devon port of Dartmouth for more work to be done on the Speedwell. By 17 August she was as ready as she was ever going to be. But then lack of wind prevented them leaving harbour. When the

Sir Edwin Sandys

A useful, if unlikely, champion


Sir Edwyn Sandys, Second Son of Archb.p Sandys
From an Original Picture

A mezzotint of Sir Edwin Sandys

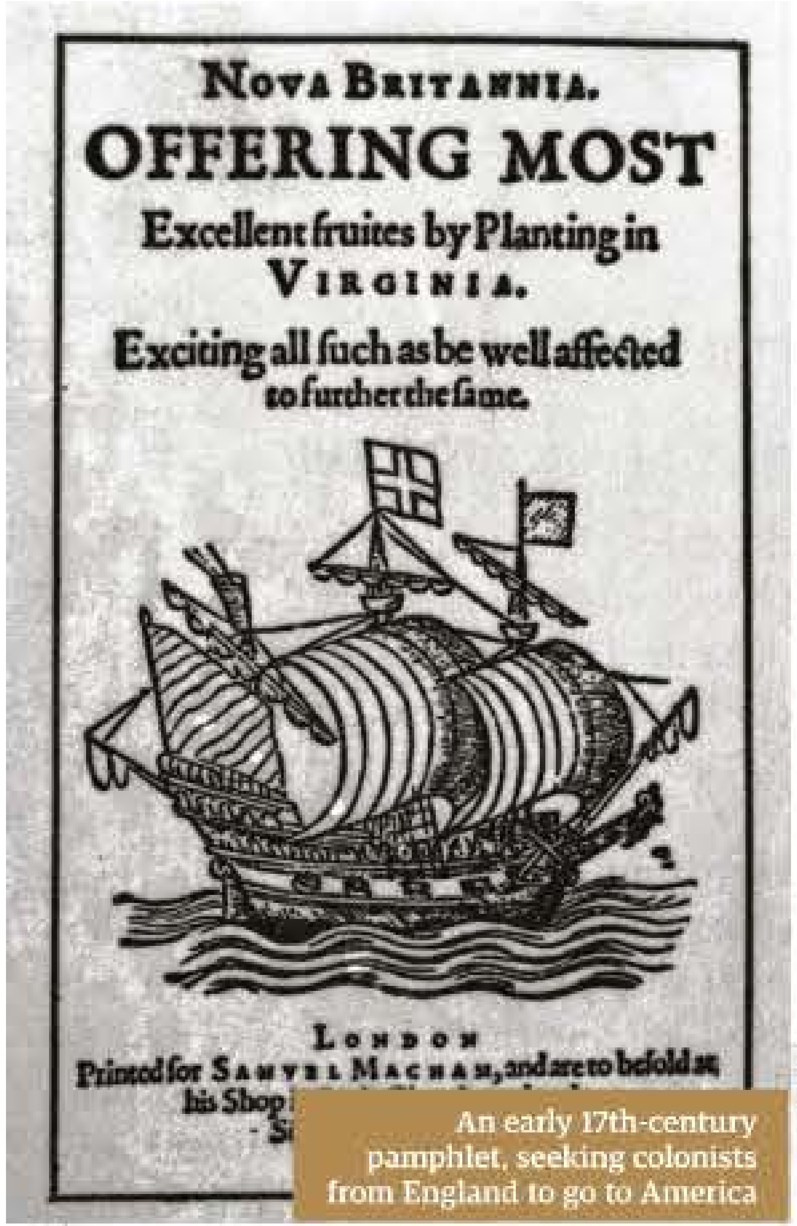
There can be little doubt that the exodus of the Robinson Separatists from Leyden and the establishment of their settlement in America would not have taken place without the active support of Sir Edwin Sandys (1561-1629), but his activity on their behalf does take some explaining. By 1620 this venerable politician was a major force to be reckoned with. For many years he was generally recognised as the 'uncrowned king of the House of Commons'. But he had no sympathy for religious separatists. As a lifelong scholar of theology and Church government his position may best be described as 'moderate Puritanism'. He was a close friend of Richard Hooker, whose *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* were the definitive exposition of the Elizabethan Church settlement and he contributed handsomely towards the book's publication. Sandys denounced Presbyterianism in Parliament and he tried, unsuccessfully, to get a bill passed which would have seen Protestant Separatists facing the same draconian punishments as Catholic recusants. All people who refused to worship in their parish churches should, in his view, suffer all the rigours of the law. Why, then, did Sandys give his powerful backing to Cushman and Carver when they desperately needed influential friends?

Sandys' religious views mellowed with age and he even wrote a book (unpublished in his lifetime) urging a degree of toleration. However, it was his commitment to the London Company that really inclined him to lend a sympathetic ear to the pleadings of Cushman and Carver. Parliament was not summoned between 1615 and 1621 and Sandys devoted his considerable energies to the running of the London Company. He waged a personal battle against the leaders whose maladministration was threatening the survival of the Virginia settlements. In his political battle he needed allies on the ground in the New World and thus, despite his dislike of their religious opinions, he could see that an influx of Separatists supportive of his policies would be useful. Some of the Pilgrims did have influence on both sides of the Atlantic. Men like Brewster, Brewer, Cushman and Carver were men of substance with friends in the Puritan community who could be politically useful, even to such an established figure as Sir Edwin. So, all in all, this strange partnership seems to have been founded on the principle, 'You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'

voyagers did get under way again they managed to clear the Channel. Watching Land's End slip astern the Pilgrims must have thought their adventurous voyage had really begun. But no; the Speedwell's captain was now convinced that his craft could not face the open ocean. Once more the ships headed for land - this time Plymouth.

All these stops and starts not only doomed the travellers to unpleasant autumn weather; they were also eating into the Pilgrims' supplies. Most of the Leyden contingent had had enough. They wanted to leave. It was only the obduracy of the Mayflower's captain that prevented them. He had his orders from the London Company and they were to land as many settlers as possible on the coast of Virginia in order to establish a viable colony. He recognised the Speedwell would have to be abandoned, which meant leaving some people behind. The question was, 'how many?' The maths was tricky. It was obvious that some of his passengers - the old, the very young, the frail - were ill-equipped to face the hazards of the voyage, such as the cramped conditions and the buffeting by cruel seas. Should he therefore pack as many as possible onto the Mayflower in order to minimise the impact of any losses? Against that solution was the fact that the more cramped the onboard conditions were, the greater the chance of contagion spreading in the unsanitary conditions below decks. There was also the additional difficulty that having landsmen swarming all over his ship would create additional problems for his crew in working the vessel. His eventual decision was to reduce the total passenger complement by 20. This left 102 potential settlers for the rest of the journey. Of that number only 41 had come from the Separatist settlement at Leyden.

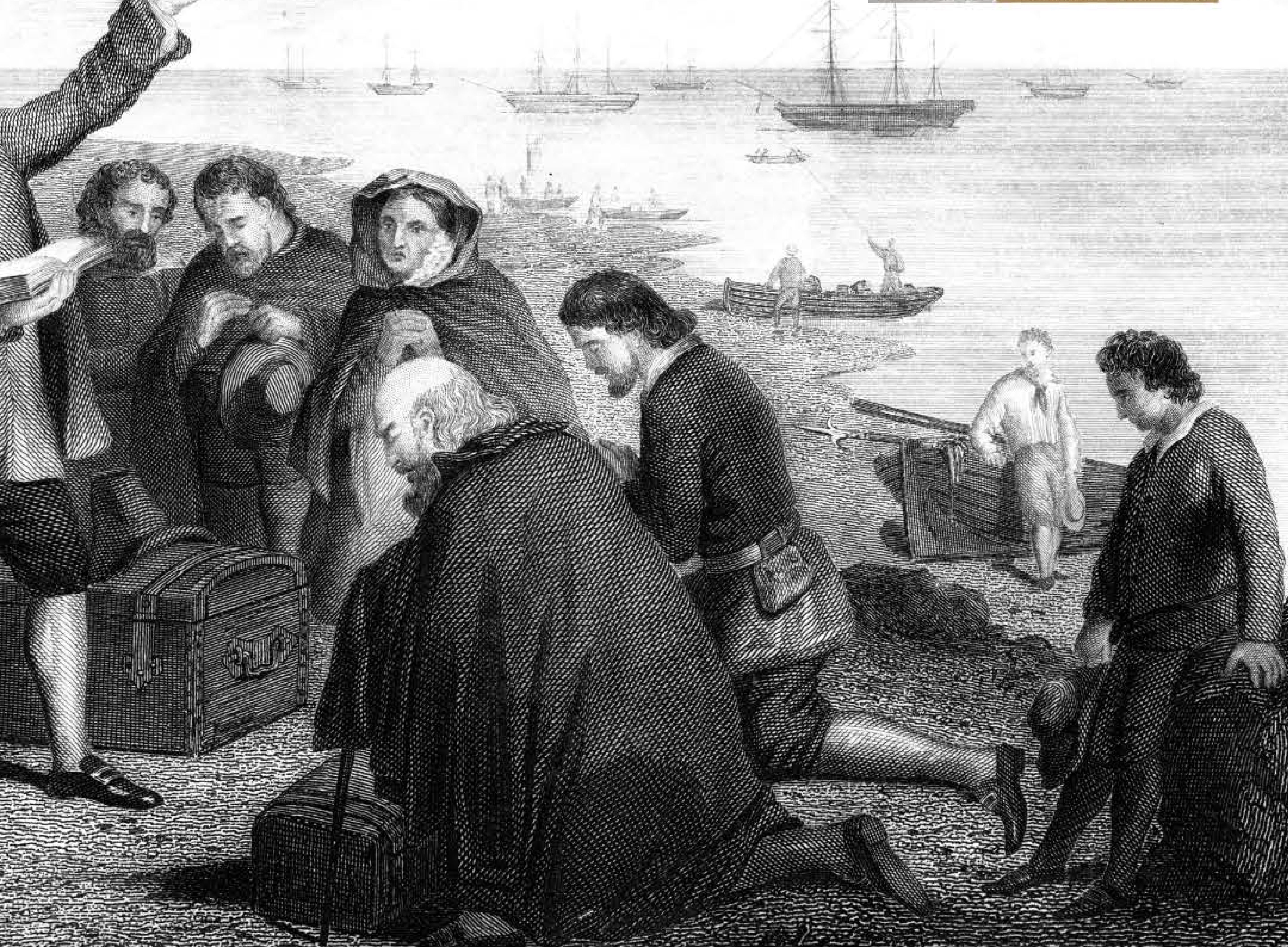
On 6 September 1620, the Pilgrims and their companions bade farewell to their past and embraced an unknown future. They would need all the faith and courage they had if they were to survive.

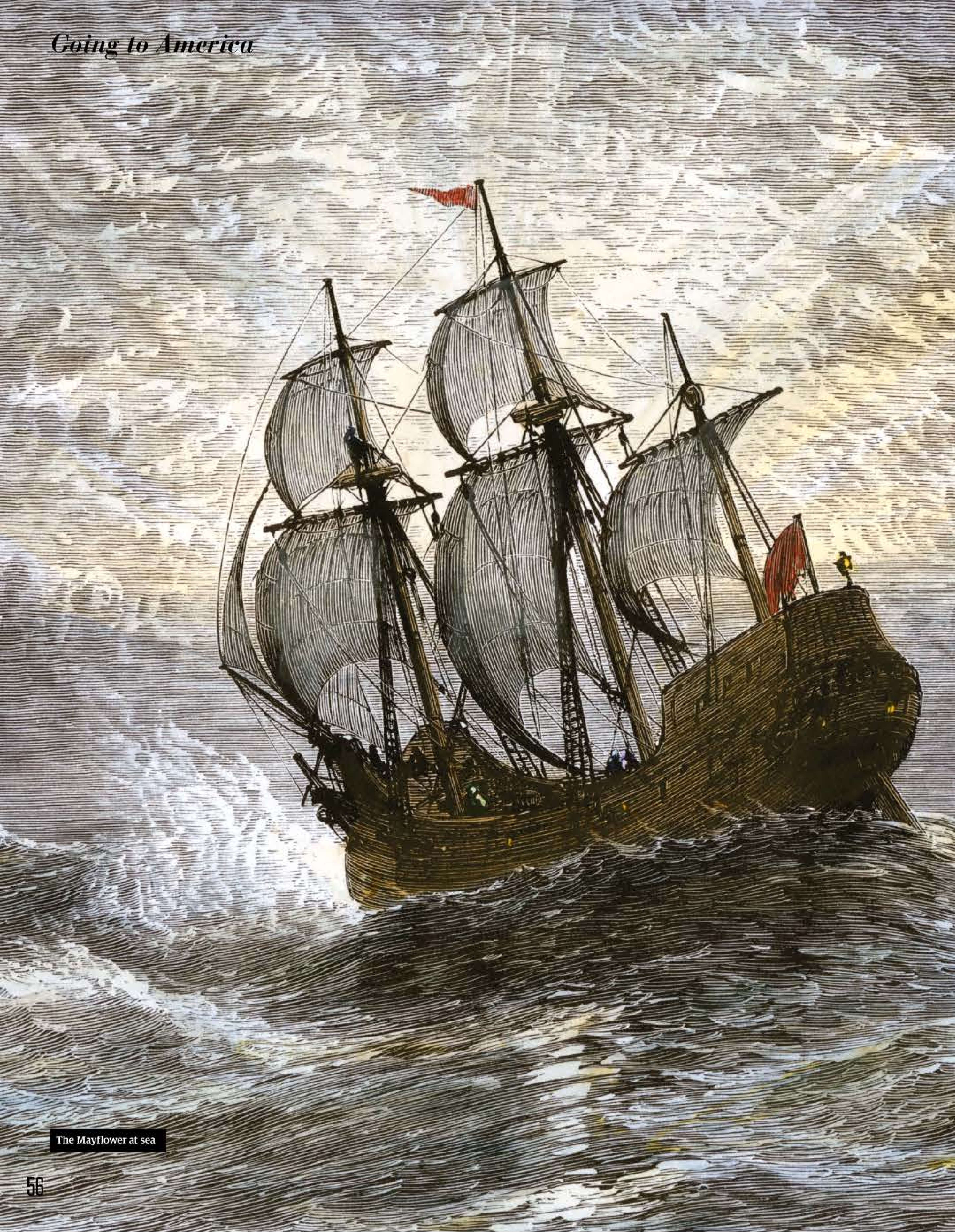


NOVA BRITANNIA.
OFFERING MOST
Excellent fruites by Planting in
VIRGINIA.
Exciting all ſuch as be well affected
to further the ſame.

LONDON
Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be ſold at
his Shop

An early 17th-century pamphlet, seeking colonists from England to go to America





The Mayflower at sea

The voyage of the Mayflower

WORDS BY: *James Hoare*

A disastrous start gave way to a 66-day ordeal of sickness, catastrophe and conflict. Discover how the Mayflower sailed out of the storm and into legend

The Mayflower was a typical Dutch-style merchant fluyt. Short at only 100-feet long and squat due to inelegant superstructure fore and aft to protect its crew and cargo from the elements, 14 cannon of varying size and power also stood primed to shield them from man-made threat.

It looks somewhat fussy and top-heavy, but the fluyt made the Netherlands a mercantile superpower. It was capable of carrying more cargo and being operated by fewer hands than precious trade vessels, and the design was quickly adopted by the English. High masts made them faster, while their pear-shaped bows (when viewed from the front) enabled them to traverse shallower rivers and coastal waters than galleons.

It was the perfect ship for the age of exploration and empire, and for a band of religious refuseniks looking to establish a new life in the New World.

Rated at 180 tons (meaning it could carry 180 casks - or tuns - of wine), the Mayflower carried all the tools deemed vital to the raising of a colony, from weapons and gunpowder to grinding stones and saws, to cooking utensils and locks for doors yet unfashioned on houses still to be built. Though passengers' journals note two dogs - a spaniel and a mastiff - there's no record of any livestock, although they might have brought chickens with them.

The Mayflower's master at the time - 50-year-old Christopher Jones - had spent the last 11 years tacking back and forth across the Channel, taking French wine north and English woollens south. Aside from a brief trip to Norway with a mixed cargo of trade goods, and possibly a whaling expedition to Greenland, he had little experience of treacherous open seas.

In that he looked to his first mate, Robert Coppin, who claimed to have sailed to New England, and his

The replica Mayflower II at sunset, a rare calm that the original Pilgrims would have been grateful for

"On 6 September 1620, the Mayflower made its third and final departure from England on 'a prosperous wind'"

The cramped quarters of the Mayflower II, a replica of the original launched in 1956

pilot, John Clark, who had taken cattle to Virginia in 1611 and 1618, and was once hauled to Cuba as a prisoner of the Spanish.

The drama with the Speedwell had seen patience and provisions both sorely tested, and after nearly a month on board within sight of the land they were trying to escape, the mood had turned malodorous. Some Pilgrims had already given up their places and limped home, despite the efforts of the hard-headed governor Christopher Martin.

A further challenge to morale came from the clash of cultures. The Speedwell mainly carried families of Separatists from Leyden, whereas the Mayflower carried prospective fur-trappers from the London Company of Adventurers, who the Pilgrims called 'Strangers'. Both bands of passengers - one set driven by economic opportunity and the other set by religious fervour - had kept mostly to their own in the preceding month, but now these motley 102 souls were forced into close proximity.

Wary of potential conflict, the congregation's pastor, John Robinson, urged patience and co-operation. This was no small ask given his followers were chiefly defined by their sense of self-righteousness, self-imposed exclusion, and God-given exceptionalism, which they believed set themselves apart from the great heathen unwashed.

On 6 September 1620, the Mayflower made its third and final departure from England on "a prosperous wind." It was a wind that the Pilgrims soon came to despise. Almost immediately, the passengers began to suffer seasickness. Few had travelled extensively, knew what their voyage entailed or had a decent enough grasp of geography to know where they were headed. The majority bedded down on the gun deck (or 'tween deck' as it lay between the exposed upper deck and the cargo hold), erecting crude partitions to turn it into a shanty of makeshift cabins. Sitting beneath the dripping boards as the ship creaked and rolled in dim lantern light, they would have been absolutely terrified.

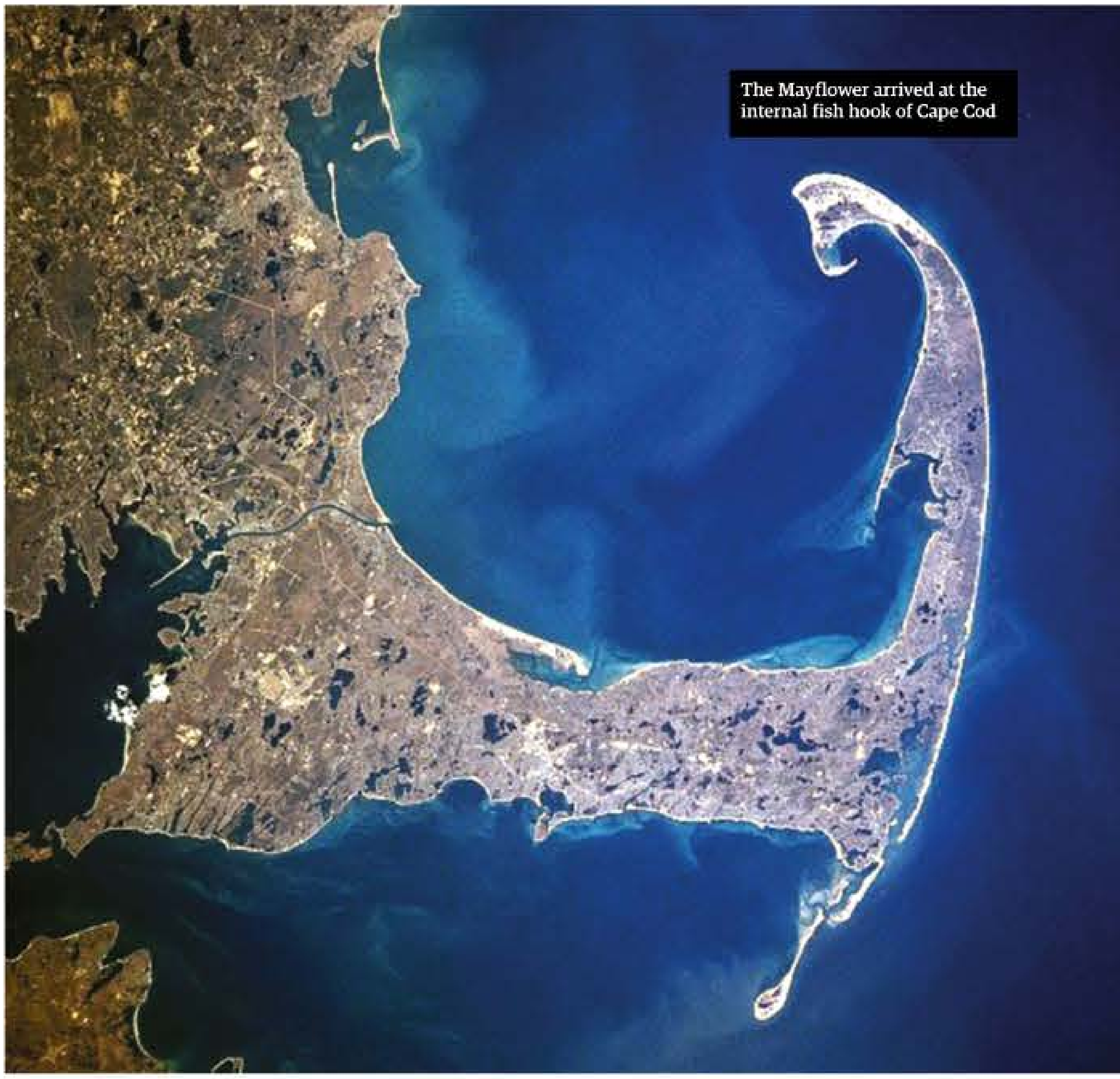
In the timeless tradition of veteran seafarers everywhere, the crew had their fun with these queasy novices. The Yorkshire Separatist William Bradford wrote in his memoir *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*:

"There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be contemning [an archaic word meaning to treat with contempt] the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had."

The righteous were afforded some measure of smug satisfaction when the not-so-ancient mariner became one of the voyage's two fatalities (the second being the indentured servant William Butten):

"It pleased God before they came half seas over," recalled Bradford, "to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head."

Hammered by western gales that flung the ship so violently that leaks had to be desperately plugged, a main beam cracked and threatened to break, and crewmen feared being swept into the roaring Atlantic, Jones had the Mayflower 'lie ahull'. The sails were furled, everything on deck was tied down, and the ship was trusted to the tide, which gently turned it leeward to bob gently amid the squall.



The Mayflower arrived at the internal fish hook of Cape Cod

"Jones sailed carefully, tracking the depth with a weighted line and following the long, sandy shore"

So deceptively tranquil did it now appear below decks that the indentured servant John Howard, sick of heaving up his guts in the gloom, elected to take in the sea air. Ambushed by the sudden pitch of the Mayflower in the gale, Howard was flung over the rail and would have been lost to the cold depths had his hands not found the topsail halyard - the rope used to raise and lower the topsail - trailing in the water. With the manic strength of someone determined to live at all costs, Howard clung to rope even as it dragged him ten feet or more below the waves, until at last he was pulled back on board.

Nonetheless, the raging storm caused some dissent among the crew. Now over halfway into their voyage, some felt they had earned enough to turn back, rather than gamble on the full payment and die a watery death. In the end, Jones held firm, and assured them of their safety.

"In examining of all opinions," wrote Bradford, "the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm underwater; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into its place; which was done. The carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and other ways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works they would caulk [seal] them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long hold firm, they would be safe as long as they did not over-stress her with sails."

The plan had been to land in Northern Virginia, which at that time extended north as far as the Hudson River, but after duelling both the Westerlies and the Gulf Stream - both unknown to mariners in the 17th century, but both contributing to the two-month passage by reducing the Mayflower's speed to an average of two knots (two miles per hour) - they were wide of their course. With only rudimentary means of navigation - a compass and a cross stick, which calculated north-south positions alone - Jones was unsure just how far they had wandered.

Disease was skittering between the decks like a rat, festering in the damp, confined quarters for lack of fresh produce and decent sanitation. Jones knew they had to put ashore soon. Finally sighting land on 9 November after 65 days at sea, the passengers clustered on the upper deck to blink in woozy wonder at the shoreline of the Cape Cod peninsula.

"The appearance of it much comforted us," wrote Bradford, "especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea. It caused us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us once again to see land."

With no charts in his possession that showed the waters south of Cape Cod, Jones sailed carefully, tracking the depth with a weighted line and following the long, sandy shore. With the wind finally at their back and ushering them onwards, the ship's master was hopeful of making good time to the mouth of the Hudson.

At around 1pm, as they reached the southernmost tip of Cape Cod, the tide began to turn against them, the wind dropped and the water with it leaving the Mayflower at the mercy of the treacherous Pollock Rip. A shifting maze of sand, shoals and shipwrecks between Cape Cod and Nantucket Island, it looked as though they would have to spend the night embraced in its "dangerous shoals and roaring breakers," until at last, just as the Sun began to set, the wind began to pick up in the south.

Mayflower

Discover what life was like on board the ship that took the Pilgrim Fathers to America

The Mayflower is one of the most famous ships associated with English maritime history. After successfully transporting the Pilgrim Fathers to a new life in America during 1620, the Mayflower was often regarded as a symbol of religious freedom in the United States. Originally, however, it was a simple cargo ship that was used for the transportation of mundane goods – namely timber, clothing and wine. While statistical details of the ship have sadly been lost, when scholars look at other merchant ships of this period, they estimate that it might have weighed up to 182,000 kilograms. It is suggested that the ship would have been around seven metres wide and 30 metres in length.

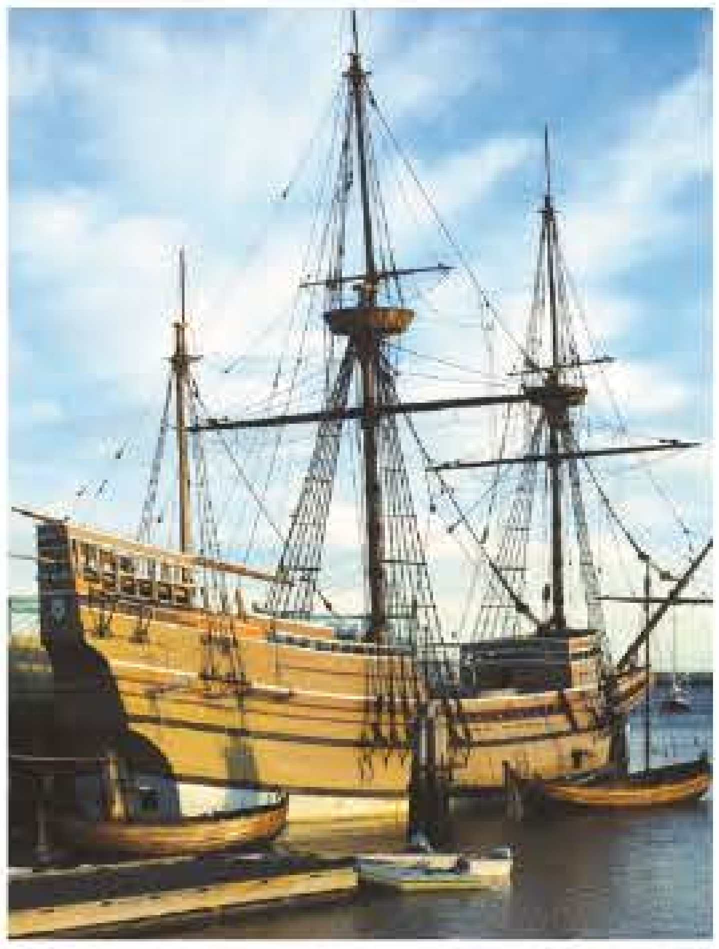
The ship's crew lived on the upper decks. In total, 26 men are believed to have manned the Mayflower on its legendary journey. The master or commander was Christopher Jones; he occupied the quarters situated at the stern of the ship. The regular crew lived in a room called the forecastle, which was found in the bow. Accommodation was cramped, unhygienic and highly uncomfortable. It was constantly drenched by sea water, and the officers on board were fortunate in that they had their accommodation in the middle of the ship.

During the historic voyage, the Mayflower carried 102 men, women and children – these Pilgrims were boarded in the cargo area of the ship, which was deep below deck where the living conditions led to seasickness and disease. The Mayflower set sail from England in the July of 1620, but the ship was forced to turn back twice because a vessel that had accompanied it began to leak water. Many problems affected the Mayflower and its crew during the voyage. There were serious threats from pirates, but it was storm damage that was to prove problematic on this journey. In the middle part of the expedition, severe weather caused damage to the wooden beam that supported the ship's frame. Fortunately, however, it was repairable.

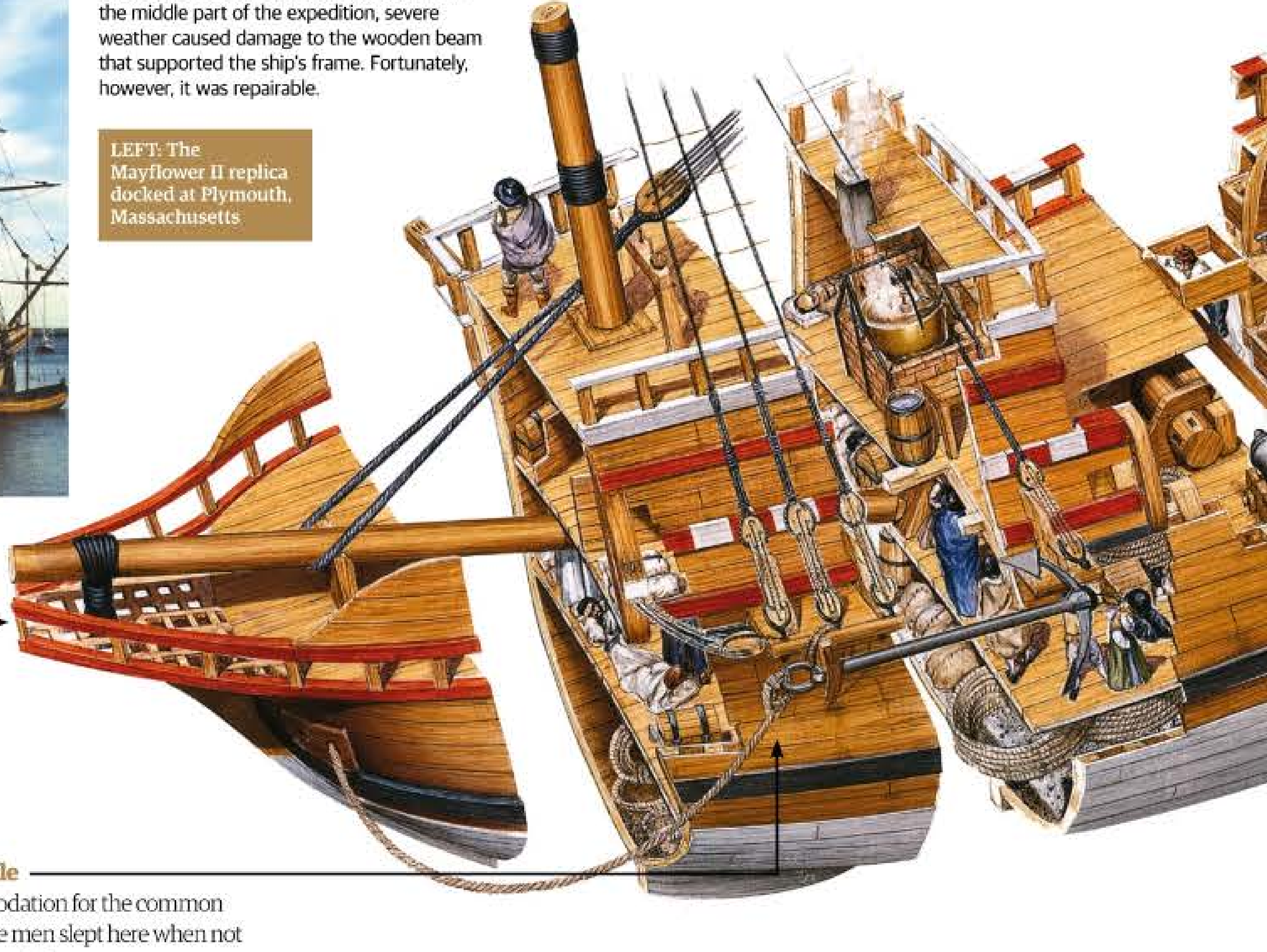
Several accidents also occurred, including the near drowning of John Howland, who was swept overboard but then rescued. Less fortunate was a crew member who died unexpectedly. Considered by all as 'mean spirited', his demise was viewed as a punishment from God. A child was also born during the voyage; Elizabeth Hopkins called her son Oceanus.

The ship reached Cape Cod safely on 11 November 1620. The religious community, who were hoping to start a spiritual life in the New World, thanked God for their survival.

> "The Mayflower set sail from England in 1620, but was forced to turn back twice"



LEFT: The Mayflower II replica docked at Plymouth, Massachusetts

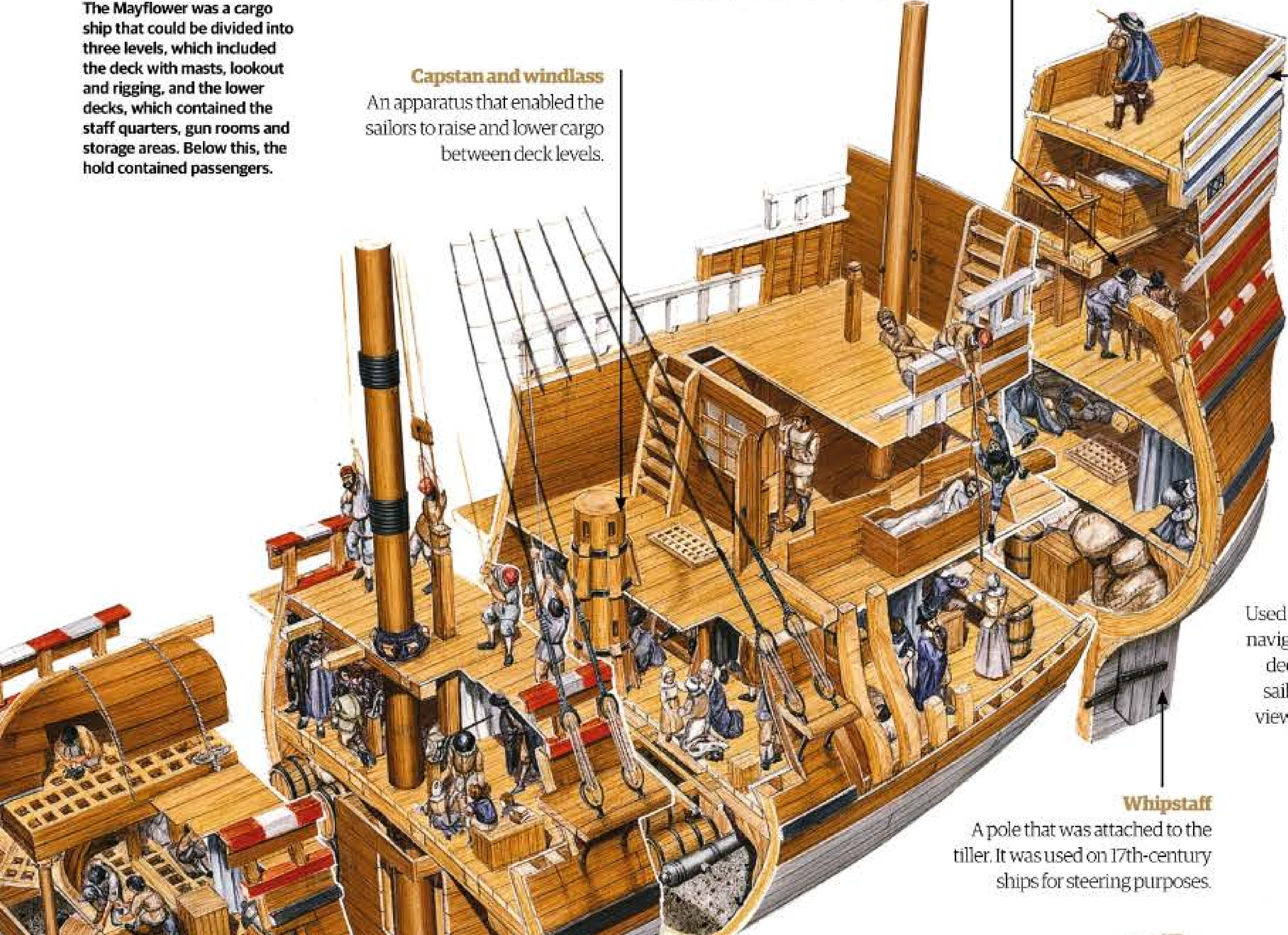


Beakhead
The beakhead is the protruding part of the foremost section of the ship.

Forecastle
Accommodation for the common sailors, the men slept here when not working on deck.

Inside the Mayflower

The Mayflower was a cargo ship that could be divided into three levels, which included the deck with masts, lookout and rigging, and the lower decks, which contained the staff quarters, gun rooms and storage areas. Below this, the hold contained passengers.



© DK Images

Great cabin

The quarters assigned to the ship's master, which had a second bunk for a senior officer or guest.

Capstan and windlass

An apparatus that enabled the sailors to raise and lower cargo between deck levels.

Poop deck

Used for lookout and navigation, the poop deck provided the sailors with a wide view across the sea.

Whipstaff

A pole that was attached to the tiller. It was used on 17th-century ships for steering purposes.

Hold

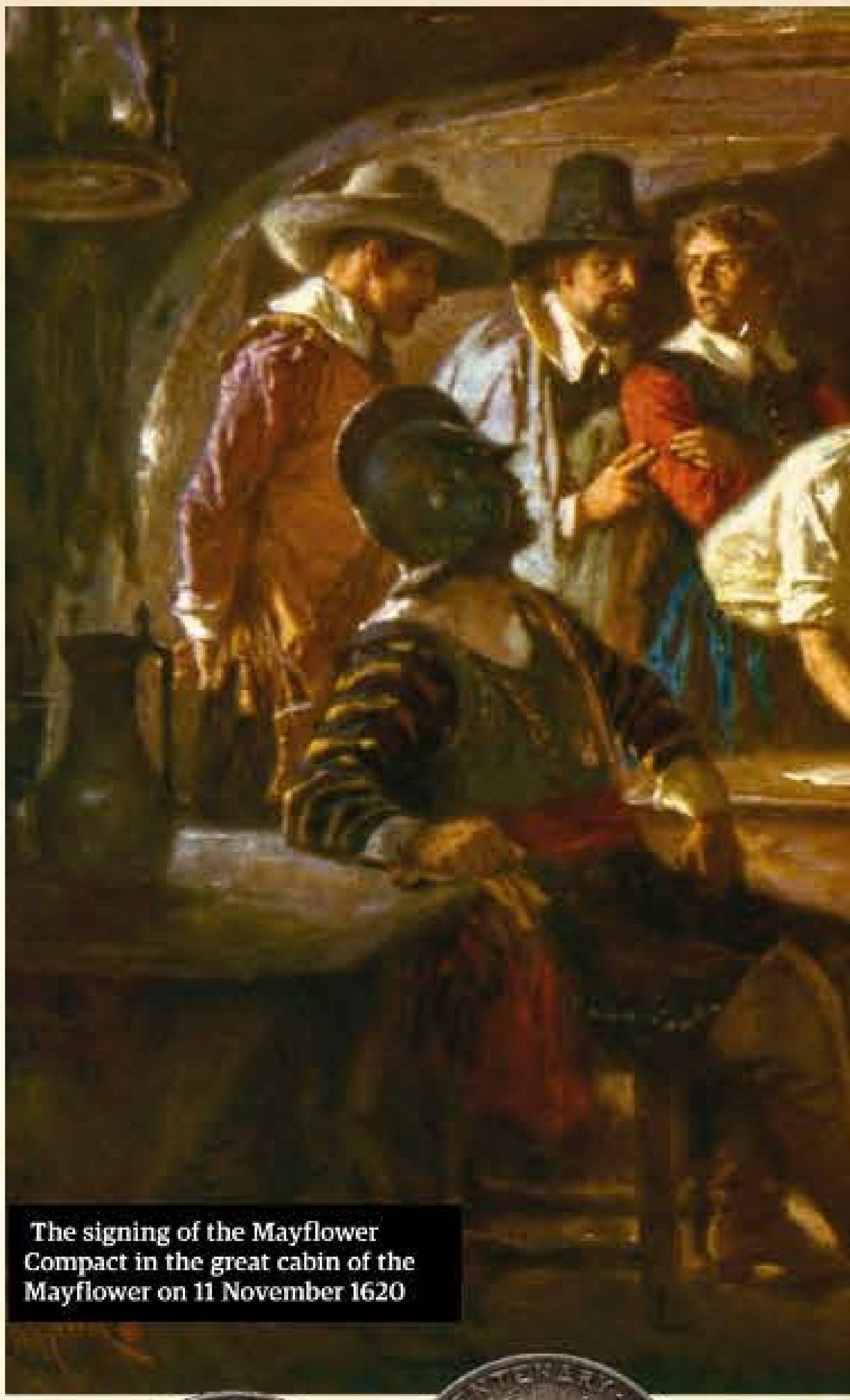
The hold is the deepest section of the ship. It was used to store cargo and accommodate passengers.

RIGHT: The Mayflower flew under the king's colours – the St George's cross of England and the St Andrew's cross of Scotland – which was a predecessor to the Union flag, like this 17th-century fragment

The Mayflower Compact

WORDS BY: *James Hoare*

As the ship altered course for New England, old divisions resurfaced and the passengers found themselves poised between civilisation - and civil war



The signing of the Mayflower Compact in the great cabin of the Mayflower on 11 November 1620

A silver half-dollar issued in 1920 to celebrate 300 years since the arrival of the Mayflower

As news of the ship's changing course filtered down below decks, the barely suppressed divisions of the previous 66 days burst to the fore. The passengers had been given permission to settle in Northern Virginia by the London Company of Adventurers, placing them within the writ of the Virginia Colony and the overreach of England, but where they were now heading lay outside of the remit of 'civilisation'.

Bradford described in his memoir *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* "discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the Strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship: That when they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and not for New England."

Those Strangers, more closely aligned with the Company, were aware that survival - and success (the Colony was only calculated to turn a profit if *everyone* worked) - depended on them sticking together. The bullish governor Christopher Martin, traditionally no friend to the Separatists, knew that they needed a binding agreement before they made landfall, and he found unlikely allies in the Leiden congregation. The Pilgrims had lived in both the tolerant civil society of the Netherlands and suffered in a kingdom where church and monarch were indivisible, and where their worship was seen as a threat that bordered on treason.

Separatist pastor John Robinson felt that although his Pilgrims could be marshalled into backing the party line, gaining the support of the Strangers relied on guaranteeing a civil rather than theocratic regime. He argued for a consensus that would suit all, and a leader chosen by popular vote. Robinson outlined his belief in a letter written before their departure: "You are become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government."

With weapons, strength of numbers and their veteran soldier Myles Standish, the Separatists could easily have made their point through strength of arms, just as the more mercurial of the Strangers could have hatched plots to provoke them. Cool heads mercifully prevailed.

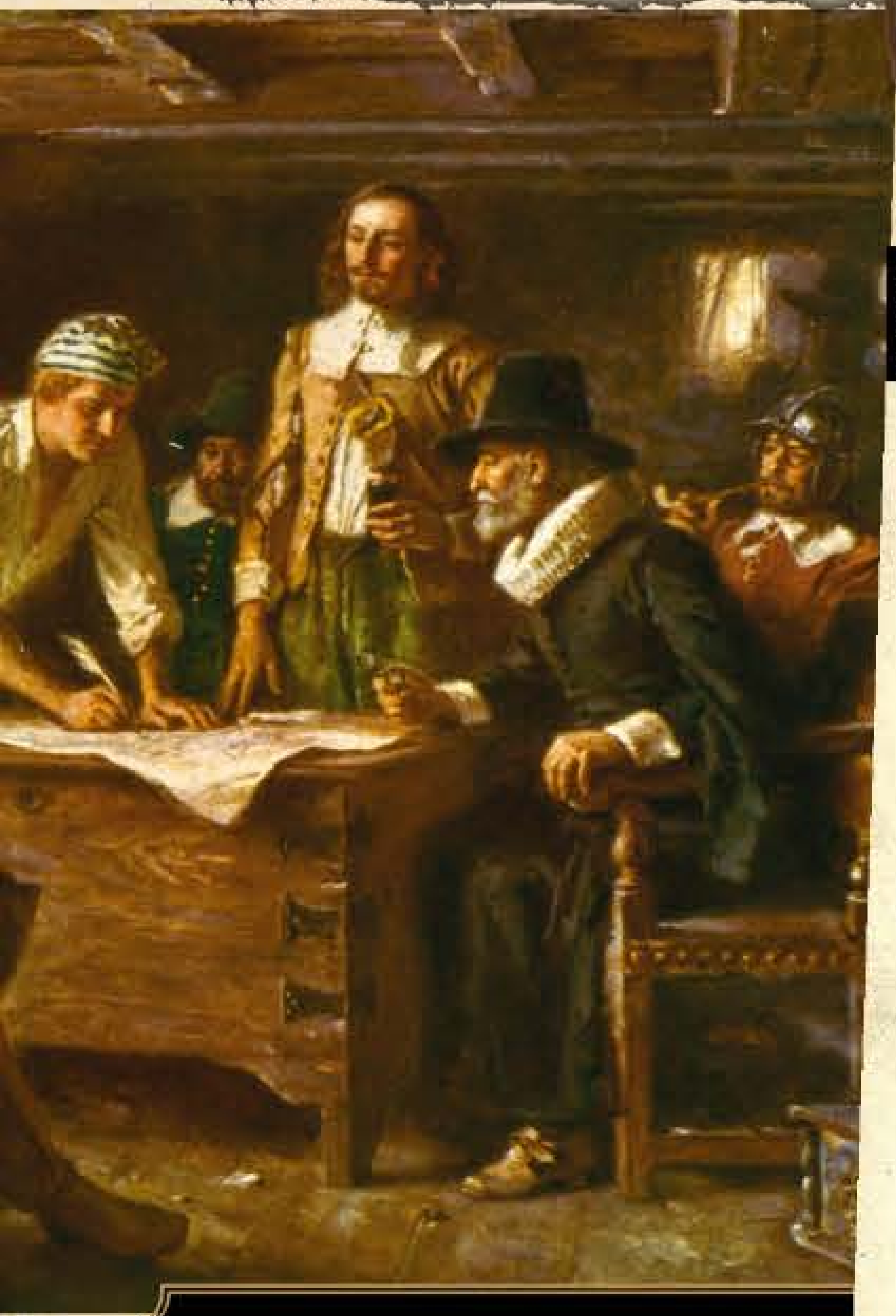
The assembled drafted the Mayflower Compact, a simple vow that bound all present together "into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Despite Martin's late burst of conciliation, his dismissive and contemptuous attitude to the Pilgrims still rankled, and he was voted down as governor. In his place was elected John Carver, "a gentleman of singular piety," who had helped organise and finance the voyage.

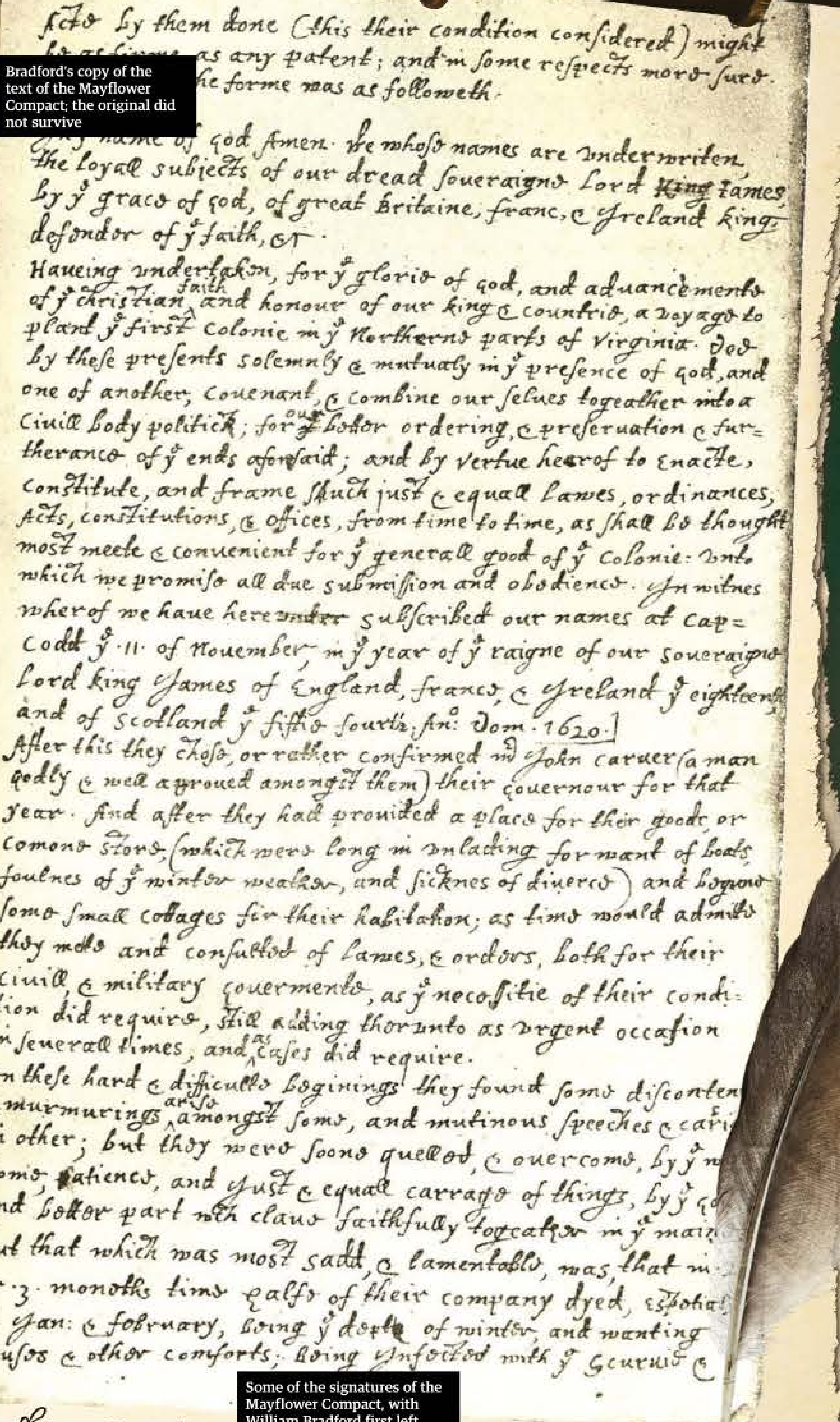
By nightfall on 10 November, the Mayflower rounded the northern tip of Cape Cod and sailed into the sheltered natural harbour in the crook of the peninsula. The next morning, the passengers pressed together in the great cabin, and beginning with Carver put their names to the document. 41 men signed; nine did not - mariners on one-year contracts and travellers too sick to leave their beds. No women signed, and would not have been expected to.

They were now 3,000 miles from England and 500 miles from the nearest English settlement, and the land stretched out before them was sandy, desolate, unfamiliar and uninviting.

"They had now no friends to welcome them," reflected Bradford, "nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor." But it was home.



Bradford's copy of the text of the Mayflower Compact; the original did not survive



Acts by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent; and in some respects more sure. The forme was as followeth.

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are vnderwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord ~~King~~ James by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c.

Haveing vndertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye christian faith and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant, & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick; for our better ordering, & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have here~~vnder~~ subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye .11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne Lord King James of England, france, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. Ano: Dom. 1620.]

After this they chose, or rather confirmed Mr John Carver (a man godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in vnlading for want of boats, foulnes of ye winter weather, and sicknes of diverce) and begune some small cottages for their habitation; as time would admite they mete and consulted of lawes, & orders, both for their civill & military Governmente, as ye necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as vrgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.

In these hard & difficulte beginings they found some disconten & murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches & cari in other; but they were soone quelled, & overcome, by ye w dome, patience, and just & equall carrage of things, by ye G and better part wch clave faithfully togeather in ye mai But that which was most sadd, & lamentable, was, that in or 3 moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetial in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts; being infected with ye scurvie &

Why it matters

The Mayflower Compact was used for patriotism and prejudice alike

For the first century of the Plymouth Colony's existence, the voyage of the Mayflower was scarcely spoken of, so deep was it in the shadow of Jamestown, the prosperous first Colony of Virginia.

Only with the dawning of the American Revolution (1765-1783) was the Mayflower Compact reconsidered. The document was nothing unusual or controversial in itself, but suddenly the narrative of men and women coming to America – to escape the (religious) authority of the king, no less – and choosing to band together, choosing their leader and laws, and choosing where they settled became incredibly relevant.

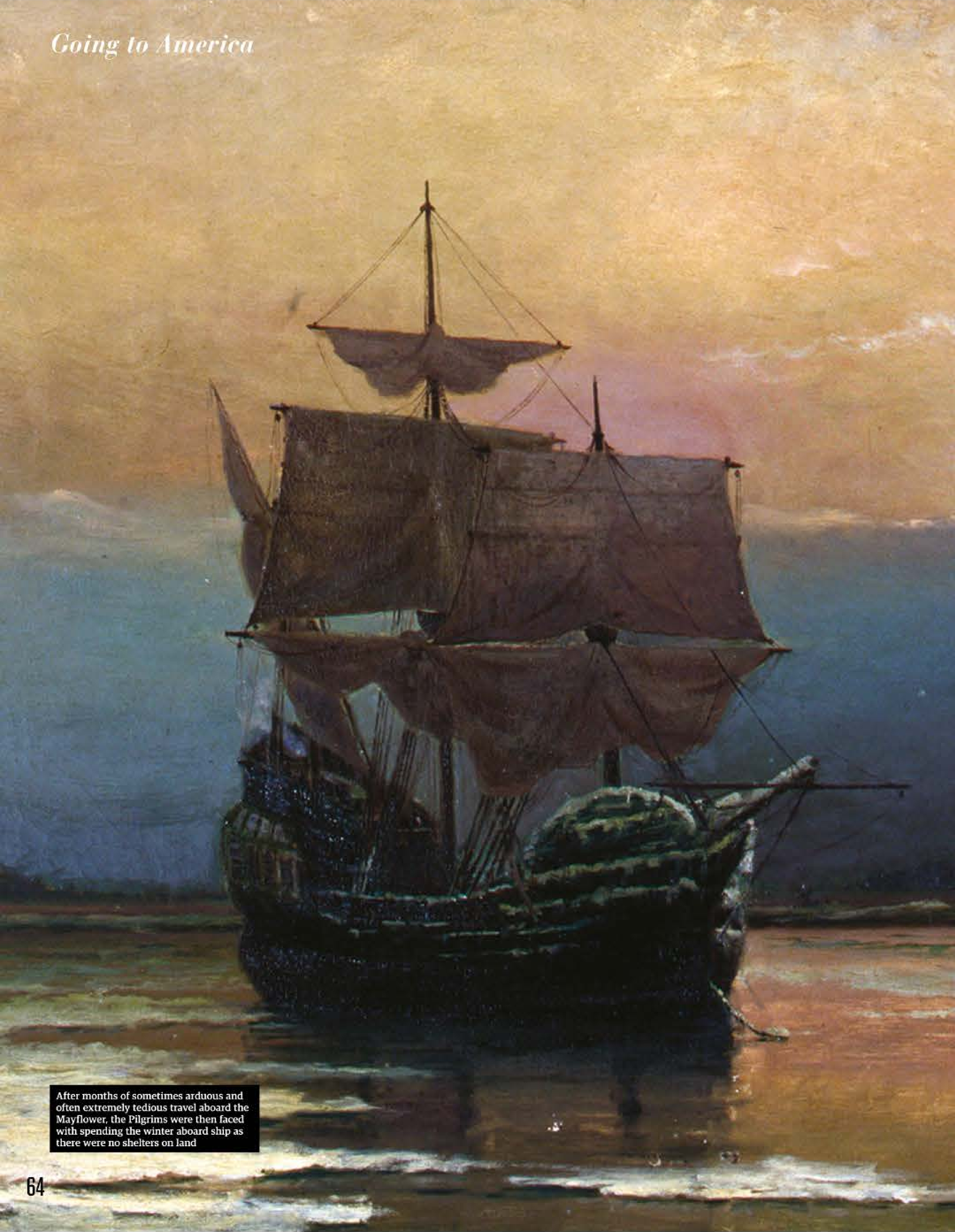
It was certainly preferable to Virginia and Jamestown – planted by royal warrant and named in honour of Elizabeth I and James I respectively.

However it wasn't until the late 19th century – and especially with the Mayflower Tercentenary in 1920 – that the legend became a central pillar in the foundation myth of the United States.

The reasons were less edifying. As American society fretted about immigration from Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia and beyond, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant character of the Mayflower became a rallying point for a conservative ideal of what the US meant, what its values were and, ultimately, who was welcome to call it home.

Some of the signatures of the Mayflower Compact, with William Bradford first left

William Bradford Willm Brewster Francis Eaton Peregrine White Isaac Allerton Samuell Fuller



After months of sometimes arduous and often extremely tedious travel aboard the Mayflower, the Pilgrims were then faced with spending the winter aboard ship as there were no shelters on land

The Wampanoag and first contact

WORDS BY: *James Price*

After 66 days of tedious sailing, the Pilgrims reached the New World - then found a land full of thriving nations and peoples

As the Mayflower sailed towards the New World, the intrepid people huddled aboard hoped to start a new life away from the Old World orders that had proved intolerable. But their search for a new home required them to face several realities. They needed land that would quickly support them and their farms, both initially and as the colony (they hoped) expanded and thrived. The settlers also needed to find a site that would be economically viable and would be a hub for trade, as the Pilgrims came saddled with significant debt in the form of the investment from merchants back in the Old World - and despite crossing a vast ocean to get half a world away from Europe, unfortunately their debts could not be so easily escaped.

Their final consideration was to find a space in a continent already populated with different civilisations and nations, all of whom had strong ties to the land and a complex system of relationships among one-another - a daunting situation in which to arrive with little knowledge and understanding. What's more, navigation in 1620 left a lot to be desired, and cumbersome wooden sailing boats like the Mayflower were subject to the fickle whims of the wind and weather, the currents and tides. Reaching an exact point on an inexact map in a vessel that was ruled by uncontrollable forces was a daunting and somewhat optimistic aim.

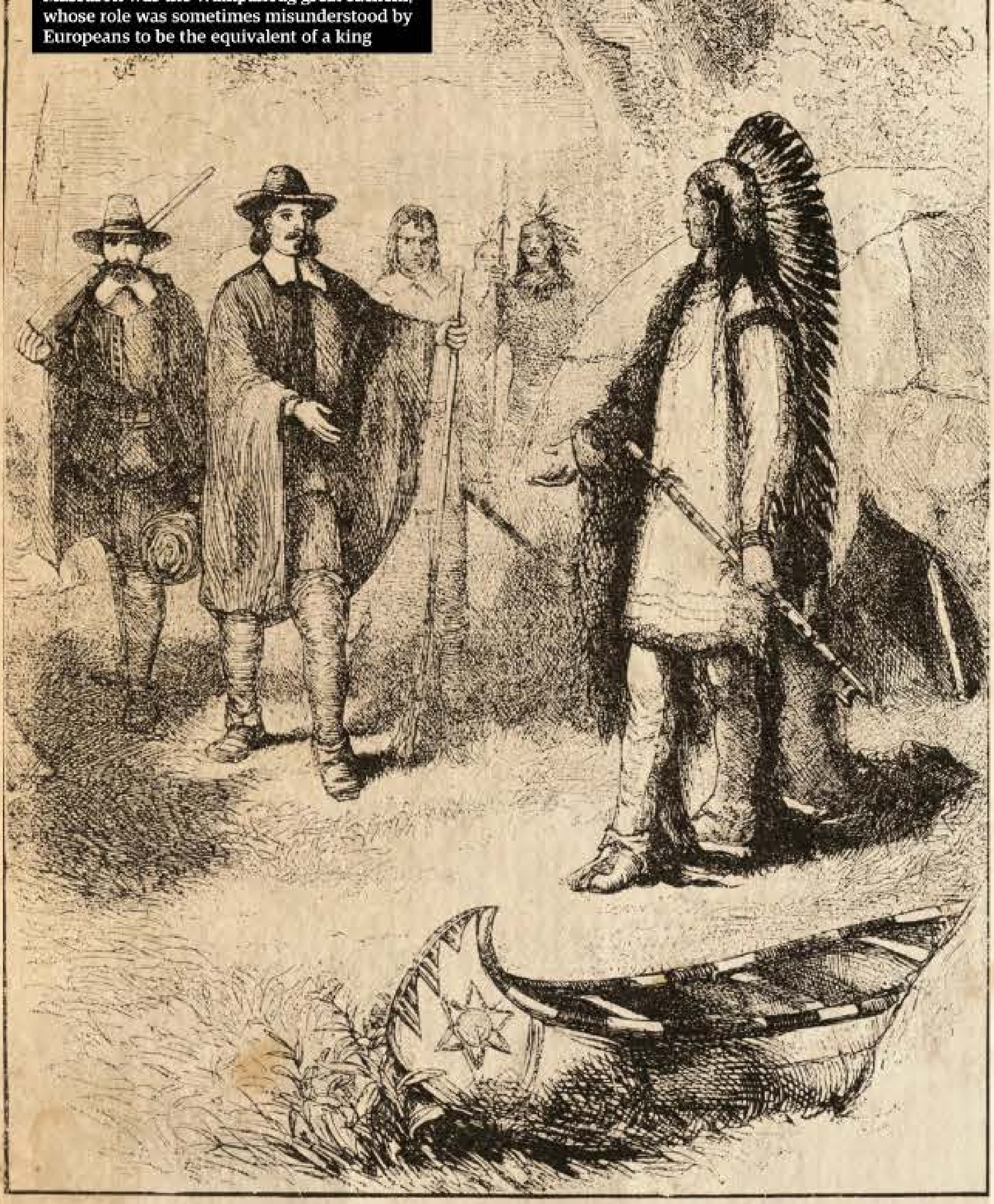
Those aboard the Mayflower in 1620 intended to make a new life in Virginia. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they missed, and instead uncertainly drifted into a different region entirely.

A thriving world

"And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the countrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & fierce stormes, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not."

So said William Bradford, a member of the group aboard the Mayflower and future governor of their fledgling colony. But despite his assertions of the region being a "wilderness" and of "wild men", the area they were destined to stumble into, known now as New England after John Smith's 1615 reconnoitre, or the Northeast Woodlands, was a thriving, thronging region with numerous peoples, languages and villages.

By 1600, North America is estimated to have had a population of five million people. The northeast of America has been inhabited by humans for at least 12,000 years and by the late 16th and early 17th century, it was populated by dozens of individual



Massasoit was the Wampanoag great sachem, whose role was sometimes misunderstood by Europeans to be the equivalent of a king

MASSASOIT AND THE PURITANS.

tribes and hundreds of villages. With an estimated population of two million in the 16th century, it was one of the most populated parts of the entire continent. The nations in the Northeast Woodlands were semi-sedentary and relied primarily on agriculture for food. They had strong similarities in terms of language and culture, the two biggest linguistic groups being Algonquin and Iroquois.

It was a region of dense woodland and undulating mountains, with relatively mild summers and often harsh winters. John Smith, the English explorer of Pocahontas fame, described the region in glowing terms in 1615: "to each of their habitations they have diverse Townes and people belonging; and... more then 20 habitations and rivers that stretch themselves farre up into the Countrey, even to the borders of diverse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Bevers and Otters. From Pennobscot to Sagadahock this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but overgrowen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for man's use."

The Native Americans in the region had complex political relationships, different to a unified nation system that would be recognised by Europeans of the time. Though comprised of individual tribes, they were often linked into larger groups by alliances and cultural affinity, but with each band maintaining its own chief.

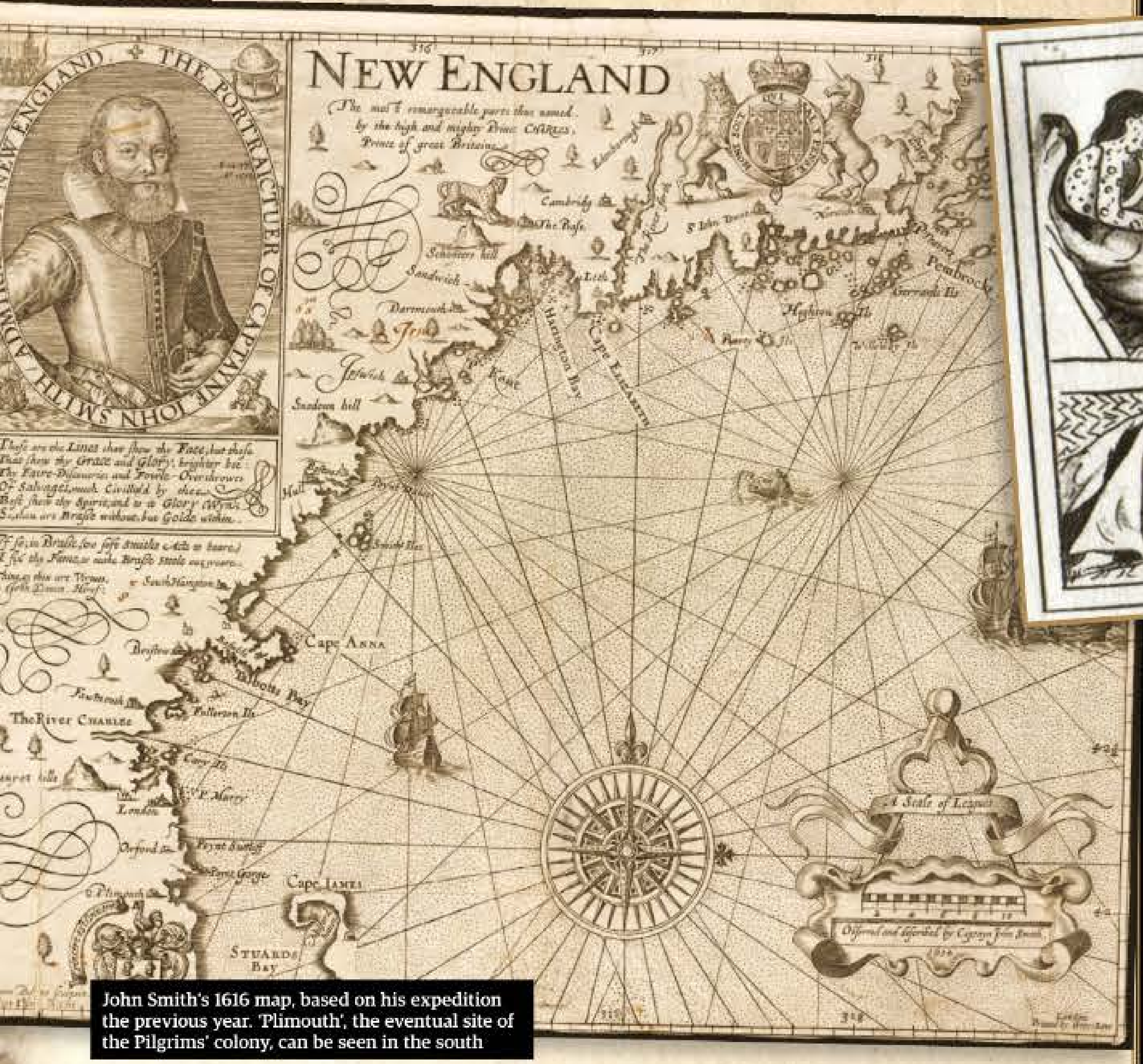
From modern Quebec and down towards the Massachusetts coast, the Algonquins were a people of individual groups and chiefs, with a common language and culture. They were at several points at war with the Iroquois Confederacy, who inhabited the area around the Great Lakes, and made alliances with nearby groups in opposition to them. They were influential in the Northeast Woodlands, as the Algonquin language (or variations of it) were widely used.

South of the Algonquins, and with a similar language, were many nations, notably the Penobscot, Massachusett, Wampanoag, Nauset, Nipmuck, Pequot and Narragansett. The Narragansett were becoming a dominant force in their immediate area around Narragansett Bay and Rhode Island by the 1600s. They had recently coalesced the Wampanoags, Nipmucks and Niantics into alliances in which they were the dominant partner, receiving tribute from their junior partners.

The Wampanoags, meaning 'People of the first light', inhabited land around Cape Cod Bay down to Narragansett Bay, and the islands of Martha's Vineyard (or Noep to the Wampanoag) and Nantucket (Natoket). The Wampanoag comprised somewhere between 6,500 and 45,000 people – a fairly alarming range of estimates, though the median is probably the most realistic number – distributed widely in the area in communities of perhaps 100 to 200 people. There were perhaps 40 to 69 distinct tribes that comprised the Wampanoag. They were a loose association, but were headed by a 'great sachem', who was a sort of chief-in-chief. Although Europeans considered the great sachem a monarch, this was not the case, as he had limited powers, especially compared to a European king of the era.

Like many of the people in the area, the Wampanoag survived on a combination of hunting, fishing, gathering and farming, predominantly maize, known to the Europeans as 'Indian corn', but also squash and beans – a common combination in the Northeast Woodlands, termed the 'three sisters' by the Iroquois. Many of the tribes in the region made a "meal of parched maize. This meal they call nokak. It is so sweet, toothsome, and heavy, that an Indian will travel many days with no other food but this meal, which he eateth as he needs, and after it drinketh water," according to Daniel Gookin, who lived in the Plymouth settlement in the 1600s. The French explorer Samuel de Champlain also described seeing "tobacco and roots which they cultivate, the latter having the taste of an artichoke". The land provided plenty of food, and the Wampanoag people were clearly skilled at utilising their environment to sustain themselves with a varied diet.

The Wampanoag were a seasonal people, settling by the rivers and coast during the summer to fish and farm, before moving inland for the winter. During the warmer months they lived in domed huts that they called wetus. When de Champlain had visited the region over a decade earlier, he had described the wetus as "round, and



John Smith's 1616 map, based on his expedition the previous year. 'Plimouth', the eventual site of the Pilgrims' colony, can be seen in the south

covered with a heavy thatch made of reeds. In the roof that is an opening of about a foot and a half, whence the smoke from the fire passes out. Nush-wetus, larger rectangular wooden homes that would house several families, were used during the winter months."

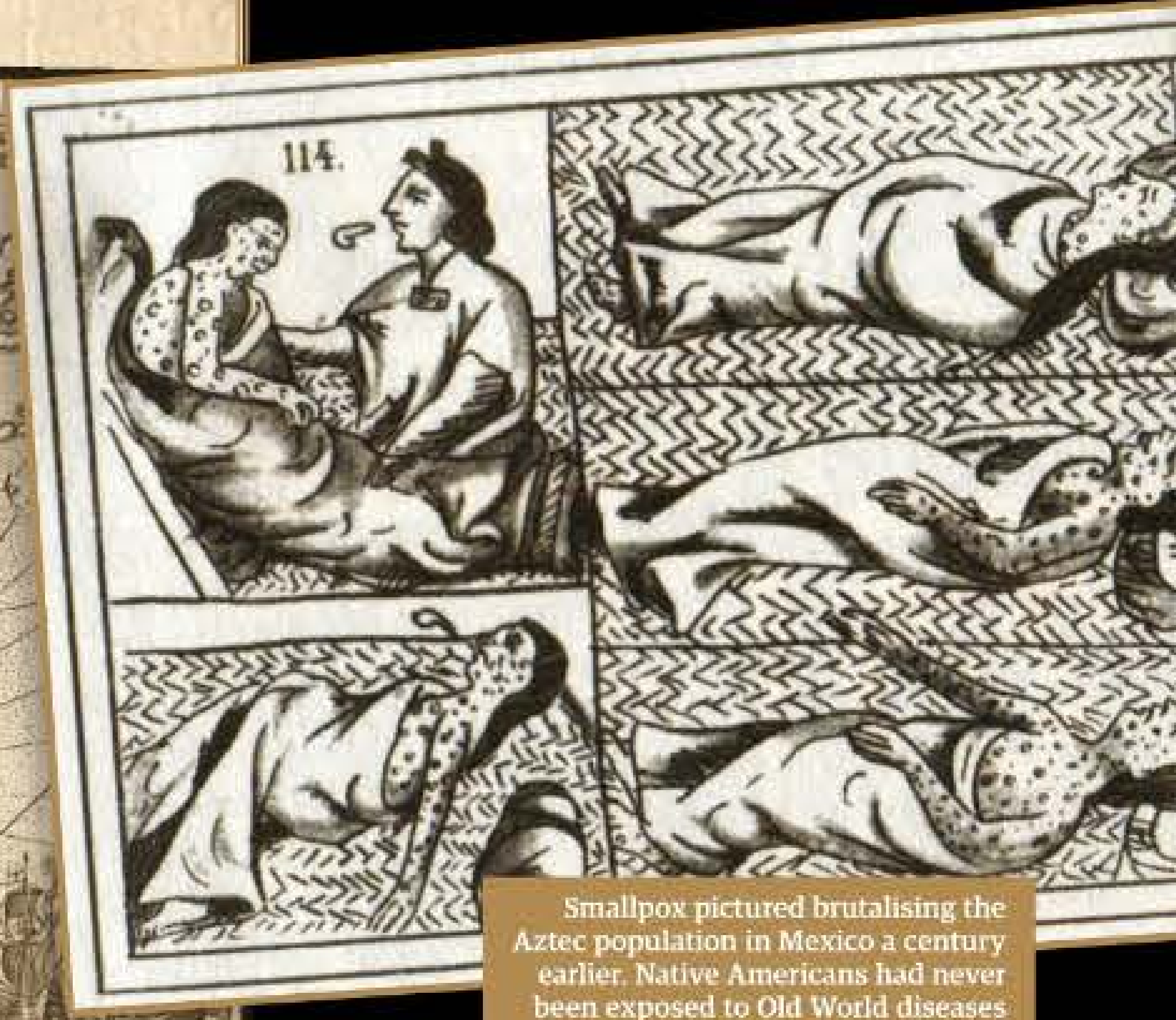
The different types of home do go someway to demonstrating that a sedentary existence was uncommon and far from easy in the region at the time - something the Pilgrims would soon experience for themselves.

"Though composed of individual tribes, they were often linked into larger groups by alliances"

The Wampanoag, like other Algonquin-influenced peoples, believed in Spiritualism. They believed not in a god but a creator, and that there were many spirits, many of which were based on the landscape and nature, such as rivers and the wind. Because of the multitude of languages and tribes, the chief creator went by many names, including Cautantowit and Woonand. Daniel Gookin related Wampanoag beliefs as they had been explained to him: "Some for their God, adore the sun; others the moon; some the earth; others, the fire; and like vanities. Yet generally they acknowledge one great supreme doer of good; and him they call Woonand, or Manitt: another that is the great doer of evil or mischief; and him they call Mattand, which is the devil."

There was considerable turmoil in the region, brought about by brutal epidemics among the Native Americans. Believed to be one of smallpox, yellow fever or leptospirosis, among other illnesses, it devastated entire communities and is estimated to have killed as much as 90 per cent of the population in the region. The survivors were severely weakened, and also most likely deeply suspicious of Europeans, having suffered so catastrophically in the wake of previous explorers and traders.

It may be apparent that the contemporary sources quoted so far have all been European. The peoples who inhabited the Northeast Woodlands followed an oral tradition and had no formal system of writing, so contemporary sources must necessarily be from the Europeans. That



Smallpox pictured brutalising the Aztec population in Mexico a century earlier. Native Americans had never been exposed to Old World diseases and therefore had no immunity

The Great Epidemic

Before the Pilgrims arrived, the people of the Northeast Woodlands were devastated by disease

By 1620, the Wampanoag people had been severely weakened. Recent wars with neighbouring groups had been costly, but most damaging of all were the epidemics that swept across the region, brought ashore by European explorers. William Bradford recalled in 1621 that "the people not many, being dead & abundantly wasted in the late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts about three years before the coming of the English, wherin thousands of them dyed, they not being able to burie one another; there skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where their houses & dwellings had been; a very sad spectackle to behould."

It is still a matter of debate as to what the 'Indian sickness', as it was often called, really was. Native Americans had never been exposed to Old World diseases before, so even relatively mild illnesses like chickenpox could decimate their communities. The epidemics that swept through the region have been attributed to several illnesses. Yellow fever was considered, as victims' "bodies all over were exceedingly yellow," as reported by Gookin. However, Professor Sherburne F Cook concluded that yellow fever would not have survived the cold winter temperatures, while others have suggested that explorers' routes would not have led them into contact with yellow fever in order to transport it.

Professor John S Marr and John T Cathey suggested leptospirosis, a disease that spreads through rats' urine in water. They point to the high fatality rates and similarities with contemporary reports of the symptoms and the symptoms of leptospirosis.

Smallpox, too, shares many similarities with contemporary reports, and also proved devastating in the previous century and following centuries throughout the continent. Many contemporary reports, however, differ in their descriptions of the symptoms, so there is some doubt whether smallpox caused the Great Epidemic from 1616 to 1619.

Wampanoag and other peoples' stories and histories are translated into and communicated through the prism of European languages, prejudices, beliefs and agendas undoubtedly distorted the truth and the story from their perspective.

Religion was especially hard to communicate, as Europeans and the Pilgrims in particular struggled to see beyond their own interpretation of Christianity, and so Native American beliefs were often simply dismissed as 'savage' before the inevitable attempt to convert them to Christianity began. Many of the stories kept alive by oral tradition for thousands of years were sadly lost following European settlement and the near-catastrophic losses incurred by disease and war.

European exploration

As has been seen, despite being blown off course from their intended destination near the Hudson River in Virginia as it was then, the Pilgrims didn't fall into a region entirely unknown to Europeans. Since Columbus first opened up the New World in 1492, adventurers, fortune-seekers and explorers from Europe had descended on the continent of America – a process that, by the 1600s, showed no signs of slowing down. After Amerigo Vespucci revealed mainland America, a raft of explorers sailed both north and south along the coast, still searching forlornly for easy passage to the Far East.

The first notable exploration of the northeast region was conducted by French explorer de Champlain, who had various expeditions to the region from 1605 to 1618. He was perhaps the first European to visit the Wampanoag in 1605, drawing a rudimentary map and charting their rough position. "The next day we doubled Cap St. Louis, so named by Sieur de Monts, a land rather low, and in latitude 42 45'. The same day we sailed two leagues along a sandy coast, as we passed along which we saw a great many cabins and gardens," he wrote.

The art of navigation

Finding your way around the world was no easy task

The Age of Exploration saw European sailors and vessels travel far into uncharted seas, with little idea of where they would end up. Due to the very rudimentary navigational equipment at the time, even making land was no guarantee of knowing where the ship was.

There was no reliable way of working out a ship's longitude until the middle of the 18th century, so navigators tended to take cautious paths before 'running down the latitude' – finding a known point and then heading east or west until they reached their intended destination. Sailors would also follow the corridors of wind that could be found in the same areas and blew east to west across the Atlantic.

Dead reckoning was one of the most common navigational techniques. This was the charting of a vessel's speed using a 'log', a rope with knots at equal points – the more knots that passed in an allotted time, the faster the ship. The term 'knot' is still used today for a ship's speed. This was combined with establishing the latitude, which could be calculated by measuring the Sun's angle or height from the horizon. This would then be regularly charted in order to establish a sequence of positions.

Triangulation of position, using trigonometry, would have been useful, but even highly successful explorers such as Samuel de Champlain "shows little knowledge of the mathematical principles of navigation and surveying but used basic navigational and surveying procedures," according to historian Conrad E Heidenreich. Instead, he "calculated the latitudinal distance traversed with an astrolabe or cross Staff".

It was therefore no surprise, with rudimentary navigational skills and the effects of wind and weather, the Mayflower was somewhat off course.

A 16th-century brass astrolabe, which was used to establish latitude by measuring the angle of the Sun to the horizon

"Should they attempt to move south, despite their weak condition and in spite of the seasonally turbulent weather"

Adriaen Block, a Dutch explorer, also comprehensively charted the area in 1614, claiming much of it for the Low Countries. John Smith, the English explorer who would later establish Jamestown in Virginia, also explored the region in 1615, naming it New England. His later map, which was based on the charts he created during his voyages, was a curious mix of native names and anglicised ones, especially after the young Prince Charles was shown Smith's map and given the opportunity to rename places. Among many others, Accomack was changed to Plimouth, and Aumoughcawgen to Cambridg.

The European explorers, no doubt somewhat tempted to exaggerate the magnificence of the land they had explored to boost their glory and encourage further funding for future expeditions, were always keen to portray the northeast as a bountiful place where everything that was needed was waiting. John Smith was just as effusive: "Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life ? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can be more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by God's blessing & his owne industrie, without prejudice to any?"

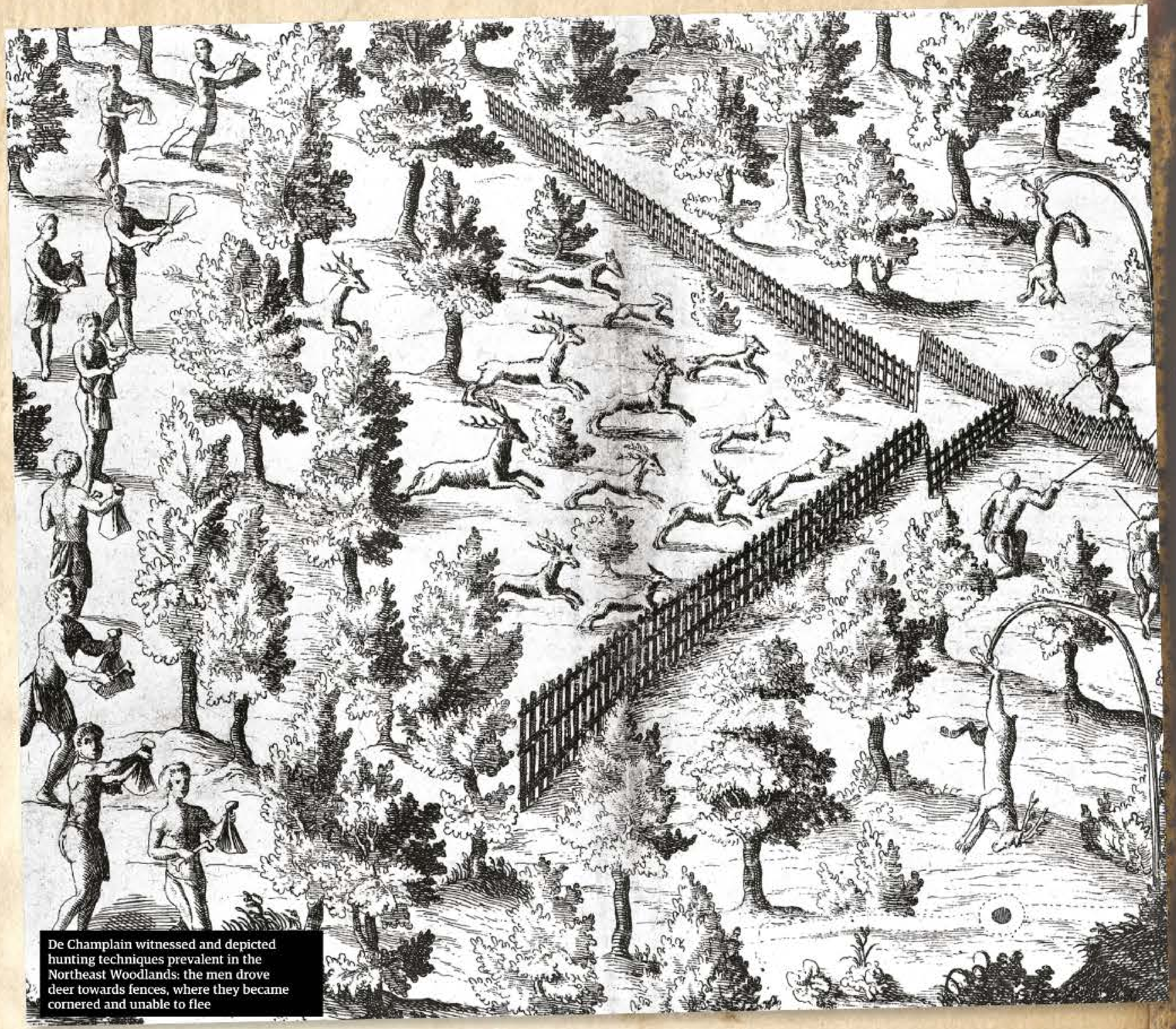
Any potential settler to the region, such as the Pilgrims, may well have been tempted and swayed by Smith's outpourings, to the extent they were prepared to cross a great ocean and start their lives from scratch. While the riches of the region may have been exaggerated, it did at least mean that the Pilgrims were somewhat forewarned about what it had to offer.

From the vast ocean to a sea of troubles

It was this complex world filled with many peoples and nations that the Mayflower drifted towards in late autumn 1620. After the 66-day journey, the Pilgrims – or Saints as they called themselves – were running low on supplies, and scurvy, the result of a vitamin C deficiency, was starting to be felt among the cramped and weary travellers.

The Speedwell's leakiness and eventual abandonment had delayed the Pilgrims' passage by a month and, perhaps due to travelling later in the year, the second half of the Mayflower's journey was marred by storms and foul weather, at times requiring them to drift and go where the sea took them. Having aimed for Virginia, where they had received permission from the Virginia Company to establish a settlement, the Mayflower eventually brought them further north, and their first sighting of land in the New World was Cape Cod on 9 November. Upon seeing the shore, the Pilgrims were "not a little joyfull", according to William Bradford, a member of the group and future governor of the colony.

The Pilgrims now faced a dilemma – should they make landfall here, in a place they knew little about and had no right to settle, or should they attempt to move south, despite their weak condition and in spite of the seasonally turbulent weather, in order to reach Virginia? After deliberating among themselves, they opted to travel south, as the weather at that moment was still fair "to find some place about Hudsons river for their habitation," according to Bradford. However, it was far from their best decision, and Bradford recounted that "after they had sailed... aboute halfe the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoulds [shoals] and roaring



De Champlain witnessed and depicted hunting techniques prevalent in the Northeast Woodlands: the men drove deer towards fences, where they became cornered and unable to flee

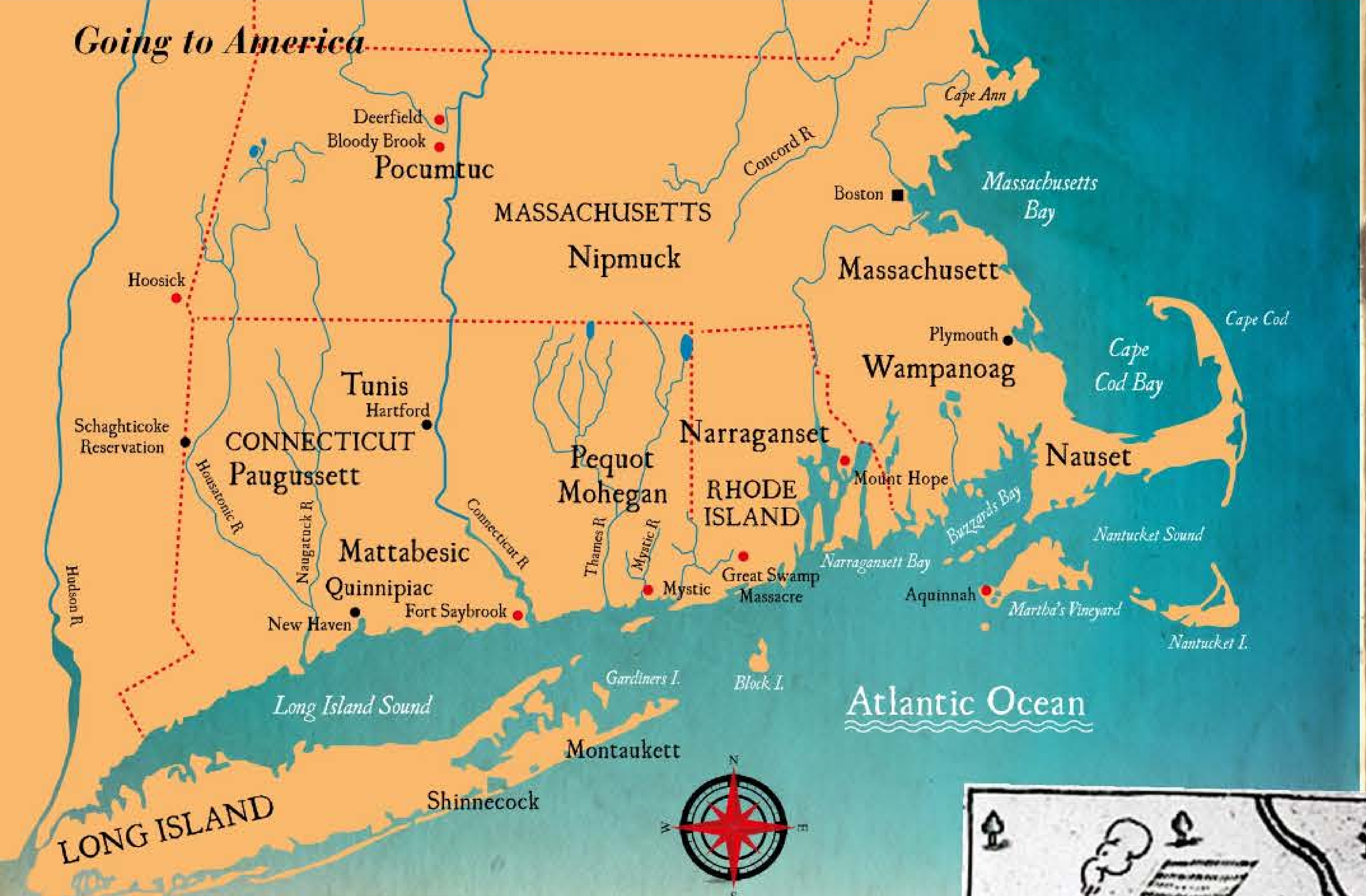
breakers, and they were so far entangled there with as they conceived themselves in great danger; & the wind shrinking upon them, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape."

They succeeded in returning to Cape Cod, and on 11 November 1620 the Pilgrims finally set foot in the New World. Bradford, such an excellent source of contemporary information, captured the mood of both jubilation and trepidation at their somewhat precarious predicament: "Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on the firm and stable earth, their proper element... But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore people's present condition... Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation... they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure."

Having no right to settle in this region even by European standards, the Pilgrims drew up the Mayflower Compact, which established a legal basis for a future settlement in New England. The Pilgrims, then, had made it across the ocean and had landed in what is today Provincetown.

But far from leaving their sea of troubles behind, the unfortunate settlers found themselves once again in tempestuous waters, perched on an exposed cape that they had never intended to set foot on just as winter was setting in. They had already been ship-bound for months, and the idea of remaining on the ship for the winter was unpalatable to say the least.

On board the Mayflower was a smaller vessel, a 'shallop', and the Pilgrims and crew of the Mayflower began to reconstruct it (the shallop having been disassembled in order to fit in the Mayflower). Meanwhile, expeditions began to explore the cape on foot, and later by shallop. A small group of explorers soon encountered a group of six natives


Deerfield
Bloody Brook
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Nipmuck
Concord R
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Boston
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Wampanoag
Cape Cod
Cape Cod Bay
Tunis
Hartford
Schaghticoke Reservation
CONNECTICUT
Paugussett
Housatonic R
Naugatuck R
Pequot
Mohegan
Narraganset
RHODE ISLAND
Mount Hope
Nauset
Buzzards Bay
Nantucket Sound
Connecticut R
Thames R
Mystic R
Mattabesic
Quinnipiac
New Haven
Fort Saybrook
Mystic
Great Swamp Massacre
Narragansett Bay
Aquinnah
Martha's Vineyard
Nantucket I.
Hudson R
Gardiners I.
Block I.
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Long Island Sound
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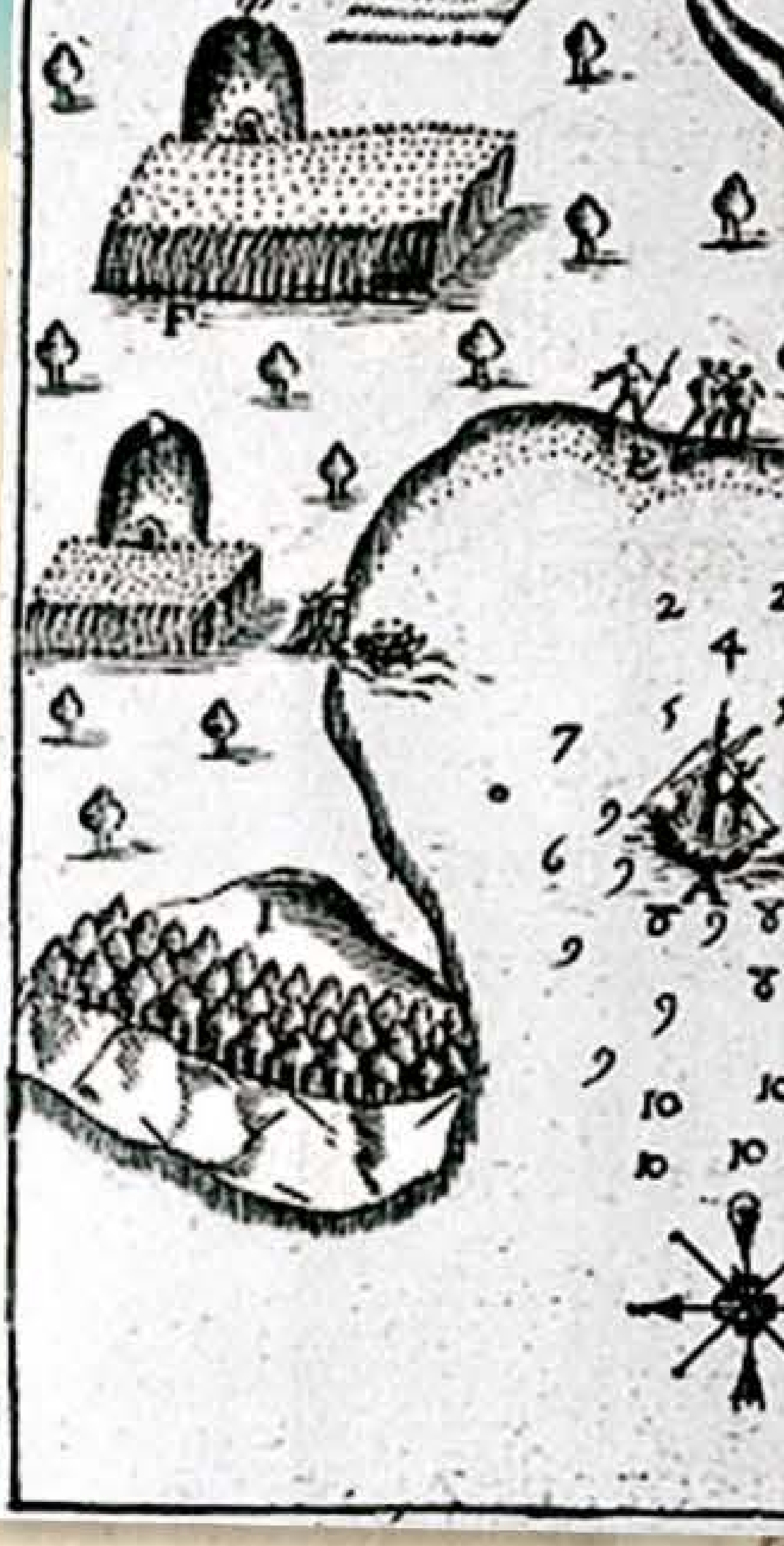
The northeast region was populated by multiple different groups, with complex political relationships



and a dog, who fled. The exploring party stumbled across a native burial ground and gratefully helped themselves to some baskets of 'corn' (maize) that had most likely been left as offerings to the dead.

The Pilgrims spent a month scouting the area, sending out three expeditions in total. Their search parties found more corn and burial grounds, taking the food back with them. On 8 December, a group of 16 were in camp around the shallop when one of the party hurtled back to the main group, screaming, "Men, Indeans, Indeans!". At that moment, arrows came flying from all directions. After a moment of panic, the Pilgrims soon returned fire with flintlock and matchlock muskets and succeeding in driving the natives away, who most likely were from a tribe of Nausets local to Cape Cod. This event became known as the 'first encounter'. It was not an auspicious start.

A party on the shallop then found a site that showed some promise. "It was the best they could find, and the season, & their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it," Bradford reported. By now the Pilgrims, having looted local burial sites and exchanged fire rather than pleasantries with the local people, came to appreciate that they were unwelcome on the cape, and so set off in the Mayflower further into the bay on 15 December to search further for a suitable spot. Just four days later, with "our victuals being much spent, especially beere", according to *Mourt's Relation*, a book written by several of the Pilgrims, they decided to build their colony at the place visited by John Smith over a decade before - Plymouth.

Patuxet

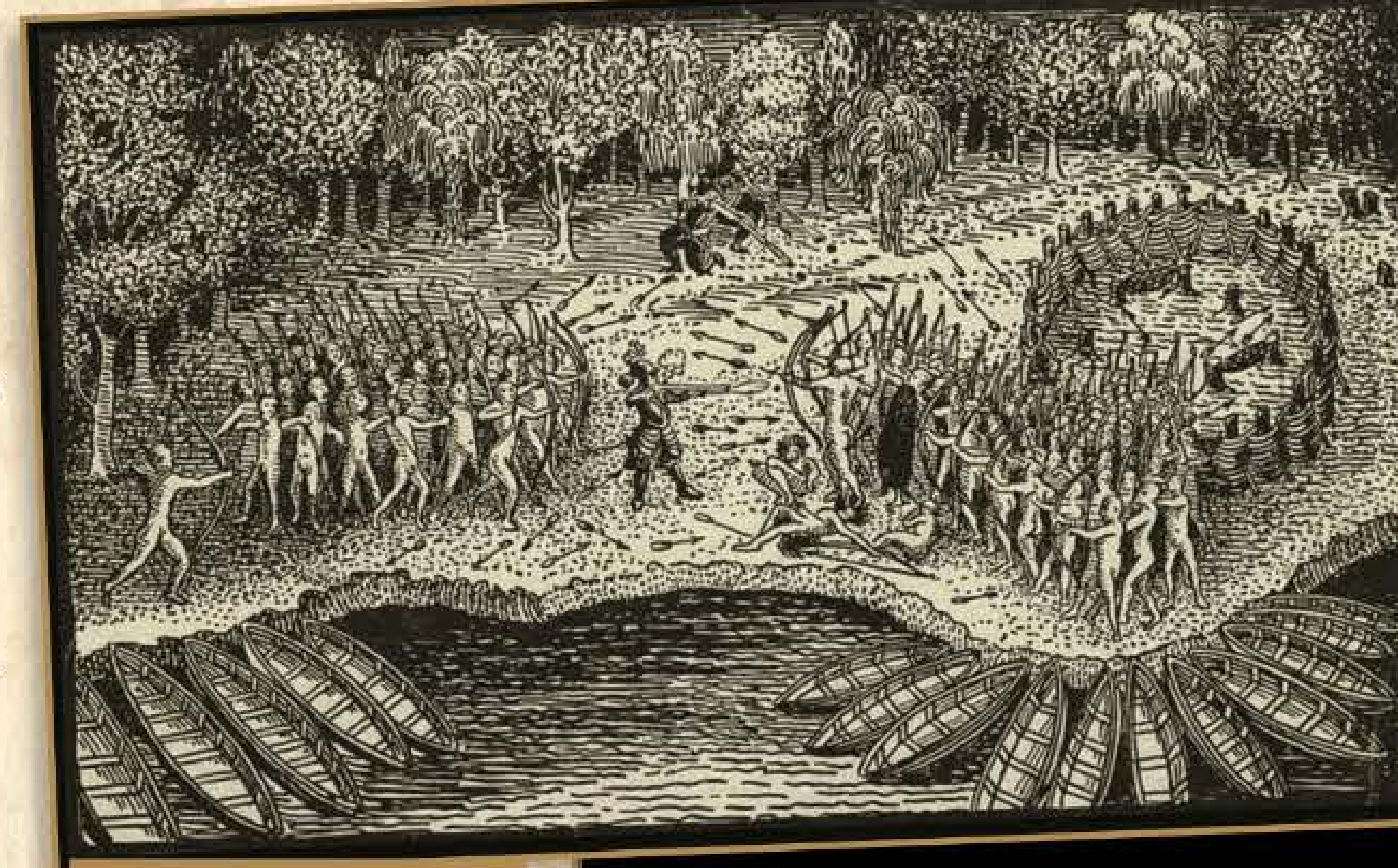
The exact site they decided to build their first houses, with construction commencing on 25 December, was described in *Mourt's Relation* as "on a high ground, where there is a great deal of Lande cleared, and hath been planted with Corne three or four years ago, and there is a very sweete brook runs under the hill side". The Pilgrims had found the former Wampanoag village of Patuxet. The village's inhabitants had been wiped out by the waves of epidemics that had terrorised the region in the previous three or four years, to the point that almost all of the population had been wiped out.

Patuxet had previously been seen and noted by Samuel de Champlain in 1605, which he had named Port St Louis - upon entering Cape Cod Bay, his ship became grounded at low tide and, while waiting for the sea to rise, he sketched a map of the area, showing Patuxet and nearby villages thriving, with wetus surrounded by corn fields. Patuxet had also been seen by John Smith in 1614, which he most likely referred to in his *A Description of New England* as 'Accomack', before renaming it 'New Plimouth'. These earlier visits serve to show that Patuxet had been a bustling community just a few years before the Pilgrims arrived - hence why corn had been grown three or four years before. But the epidemics had wiped out entire communities in a matter of a few years.

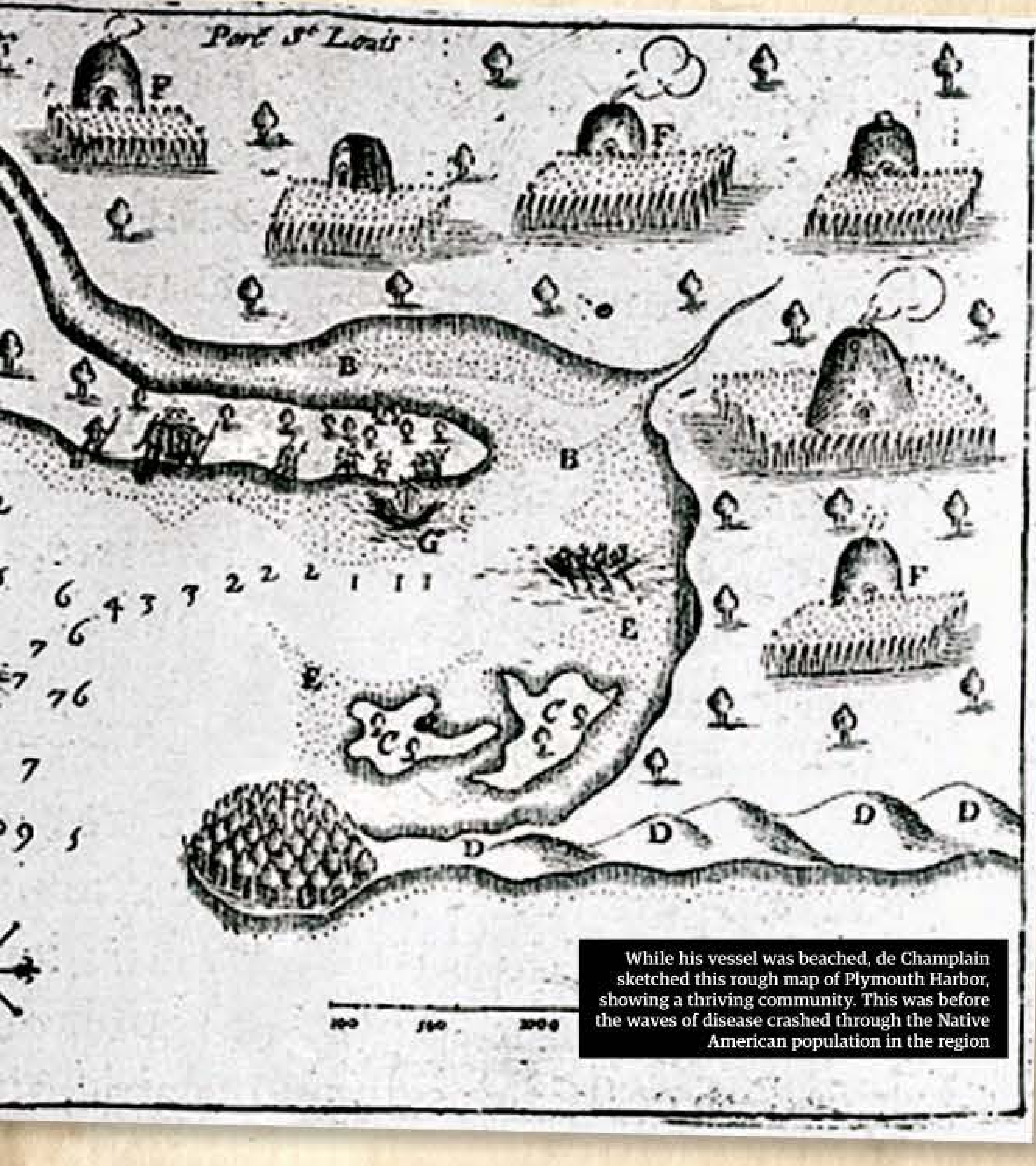
There was only one recorded survivor from Patuxet - a man named Tisquantum, better known as Squanto, who had survived the disease because he'd been kidnapped and forced into slavery by English sailors in 1614 before making his way home and discovering the demise of his entire village. He would go on to play a pivotal role in the Pilgrims' story.

The Pilgrims, having finally selected a place for their settlement, "began moving their stores onto the land, and began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods," wrote Bradford. Having said that, most of the Pilgrims initially stayed aboard the Mayflower for lack of adequate shelters, and there were still only around seven houses by winter the following year. The first months in their new environment proved harsh, and over half of the Pilgrims would not see out the bleakness of the treacherous winter months. However, the remaining settlers determined to stay - they had found their new home.

Meanwhile, the Wampanoagtribe, probably fearful of contracting more diseases that would deplete their numbers, kept their distance, until finally they came face to face with their new European neighbours in April 1621.



Samuel de Champlain and native allies fight Iroquois during an earlier exploration mission in the New World. Champlain explored and mapped Massachusetts around 15 years before the Pilgrims



While his vessel was beached, de Champlain sketched this rough map of Plymouth Harbor, showing a thriving community. This was before the waves of disease crashed through the Native American population in the region

Mapping the New World

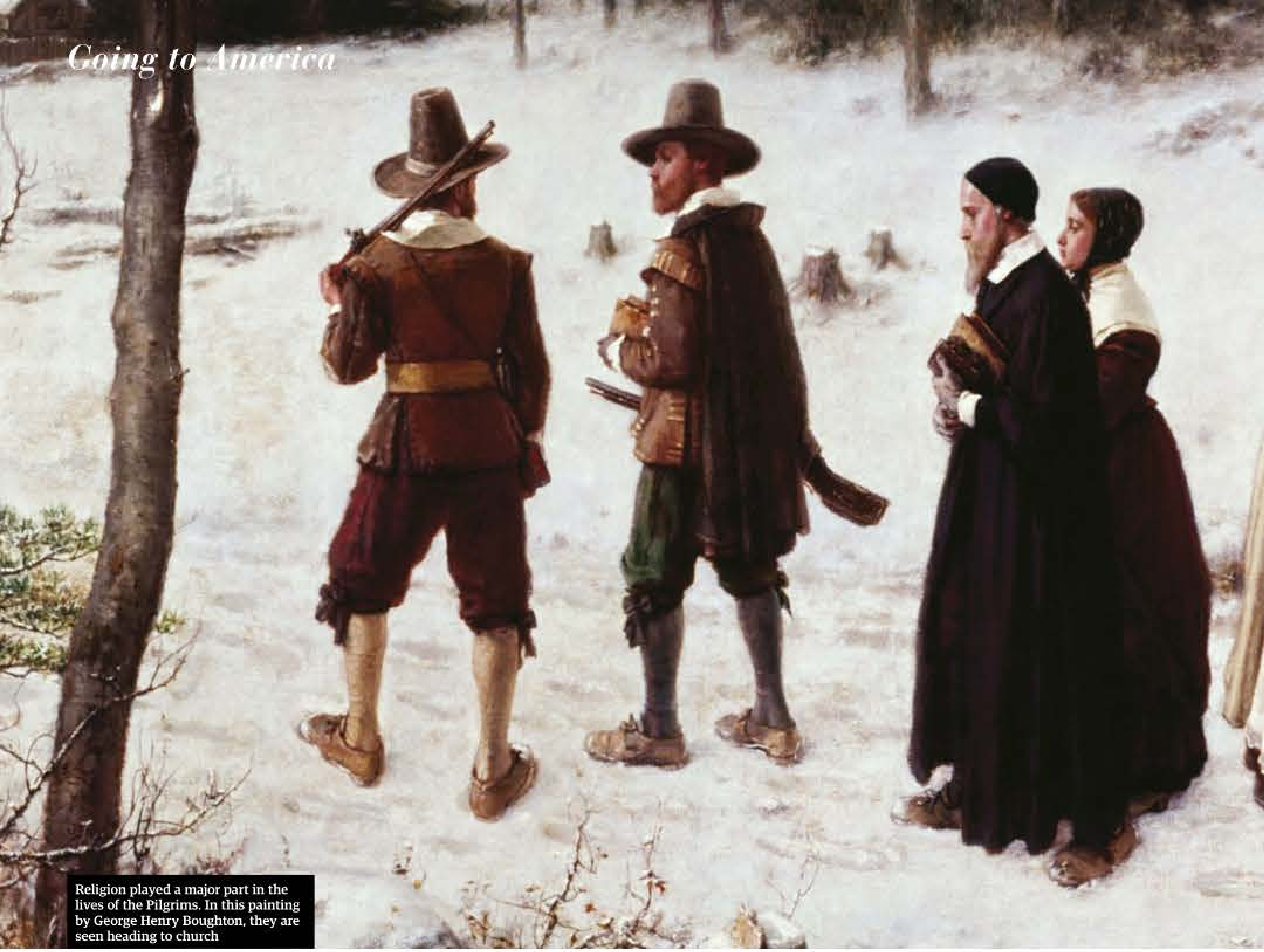
While modern maps are known for their accuracy, trusting a map was not always so easy

During the Age of Exploration, when Europeans embraced the technology to sail and navigate across oceans, glorious maps were produced of their discoveries. However, despite how we may perceive maps today, many of them were speculative, embellished by unlikely tales, guesswork and the repetition of previous mistakes. As summarised by historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto, cartographers' work was blurred by three influences: Medieval literature, which sought to present a fantastical world of wonder; "the public appetite for 'curiosities'"; and the need by explorers to show some promise of riches from their expedition in order to secure future funding. Maps of the time were also usually somewhat misleading, as the technology to navigate and chart accurately was either nonexistent or only just coming into use.

Maps, therefore, were little used for navigational purposes and instead, rutters and portolans were a navigator's tools. These were closer to written instructions and notes, and were far more concerned with the time it took to get from one point to another than the distance, which is why cartographers using these often produced distorted lands.

These, however, limited the communication of knowledge. John Smith himself lamented that the knowledge of other explorers was "concealed, or never well observed, or died with the authors: so that the coast is yet still but even as a coast unknowne and undiscovered. I have six or severall plots of those northern pats, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did mee no more good, then so much waste paper, though they cost me more."

It was around this time that serious efforts were made by explorers to create highly accurate maps, charting coasts by taking a series of bearings while moving from point to point. Inland areas were mapped with assistance from Native Americans, European explorers drawing on the intimate local knowledge to be shown, via improvised maps, or taken to points.



Religion played a major part in the lives of the Pilgrims. In this painting by George Henry Boughton, they are seen heading to church

Winter of desperation

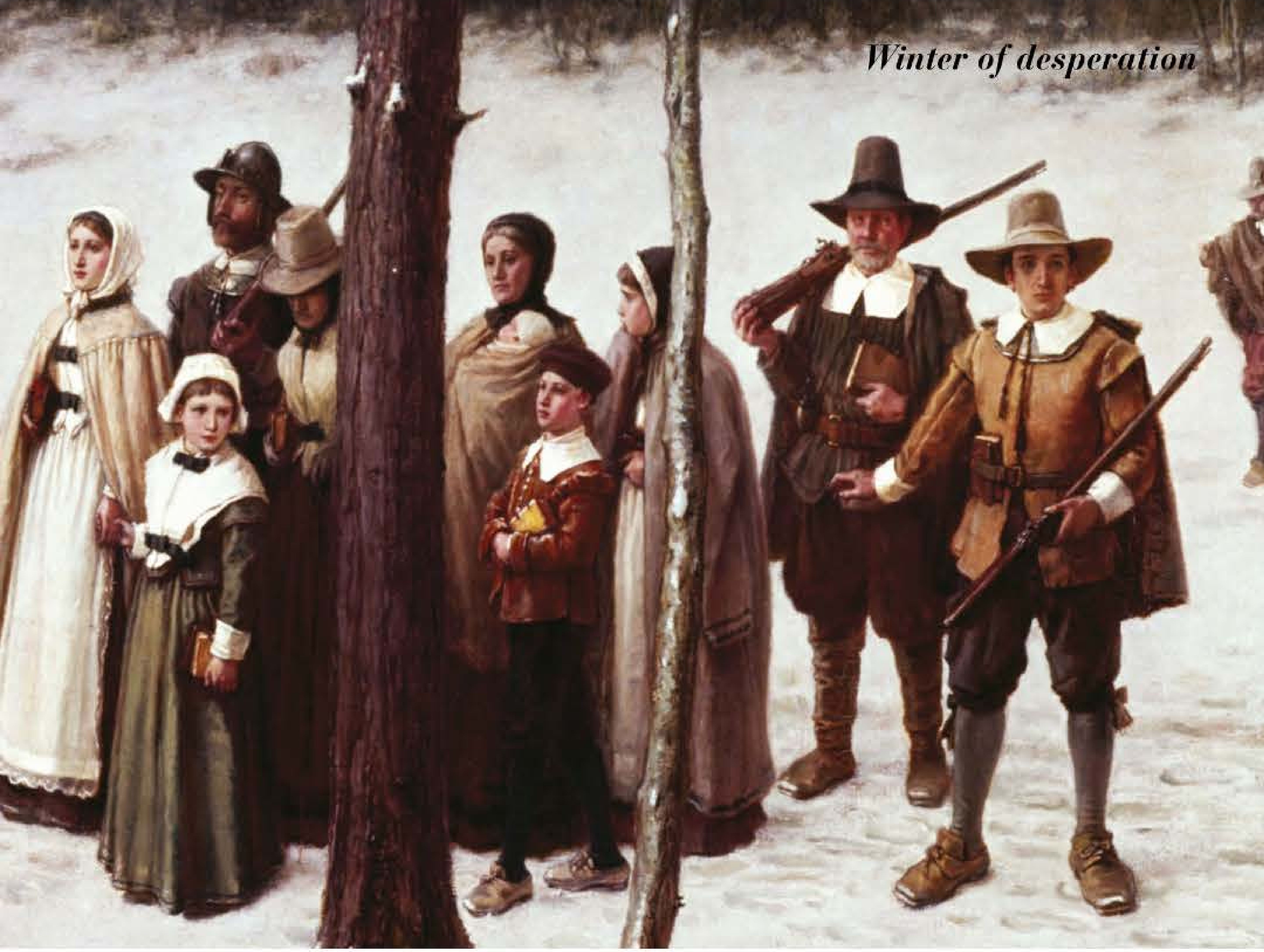
WORDS BY: *Mike Haskew*

The winter of 1620-21 pushed the Pilgrims to breaking point amid starvation, disease and the uncertainty of the future

They were Separatists - first in theology, and then in physical distance from their homeland. When the leaders of the radical Puritan splinter group that was originally known as the English Separatist Church concluded that their heritage and cultural integrity would survive only in the New World, they also understood that a passage across the Atlantic would be fraught with hardship and peril.

Nevertheless, after a 66-day voyage of misery aboard the ship Mayflower, the Separatists - later called the Pilgrims by William Bradford, an early leader who left an enduring record of his people's experience titled *History of Plimouth Plantation, 1620-1647* - sighted land off the coast of Cape Cod on 11 November 1620. The Mayflower anchored in Provincetown Harbor. Delays in their final departure from England had resulted in a voyage wracked by seasonal gales and brought the Pilgrims to America on the cusp of winter - hardly an opportune time to establish a permanent settlement.

Although the Virginia Company had originally been granted a patent for the founding of a colony at the mouth of the Hudson River - referred to as the "northern parts of Virginia" - the Pilgrims were actually far to the north. Unable to reach their

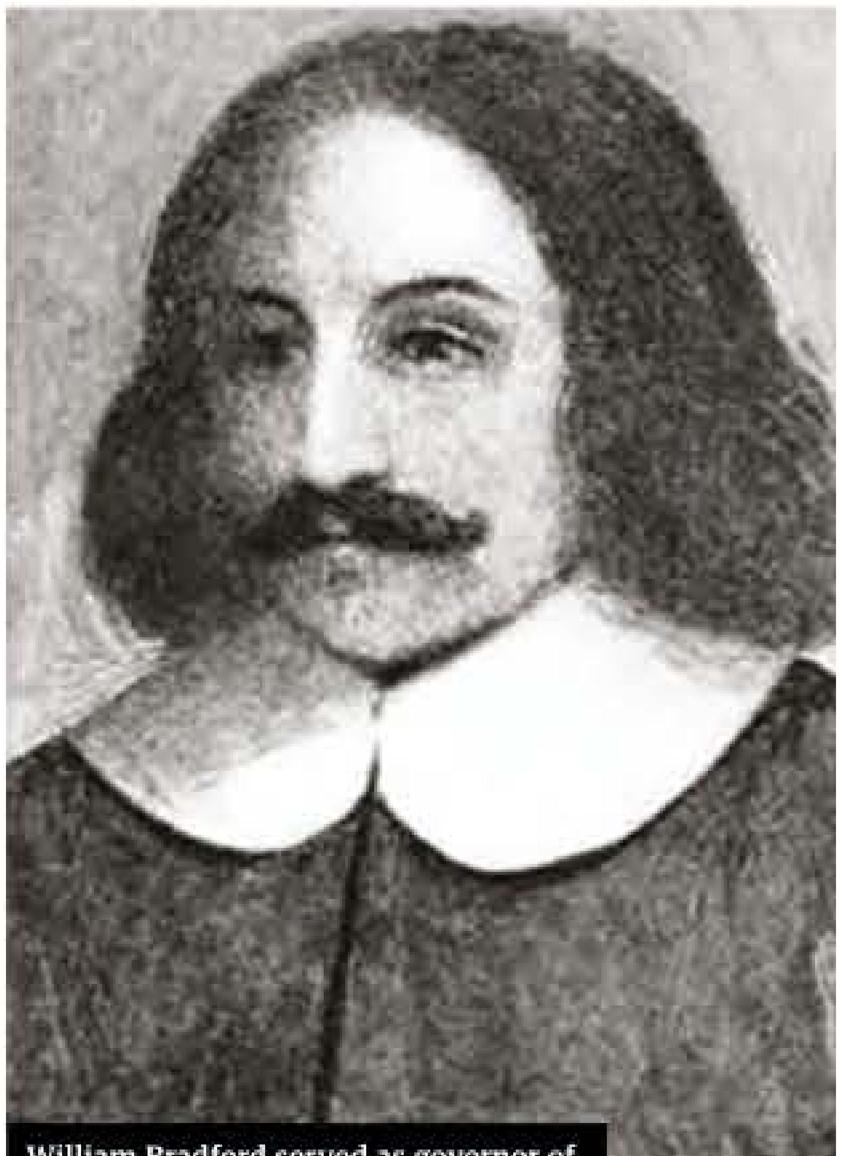


original destination due to weather and shoals that impeded navigation, they determined to settle in Massachusetts. But before any of their company set foot on dry land, a political issue arose. Some believed that their location relieved them of any obligation to the Plymouth Council for New England, which had financed the enterprise and required them to work to pay off their debt. Others believed they were overstepping their bounds without a charter to settle in Massachusetts. One group even threatened to leave altogether and strike out on its own.

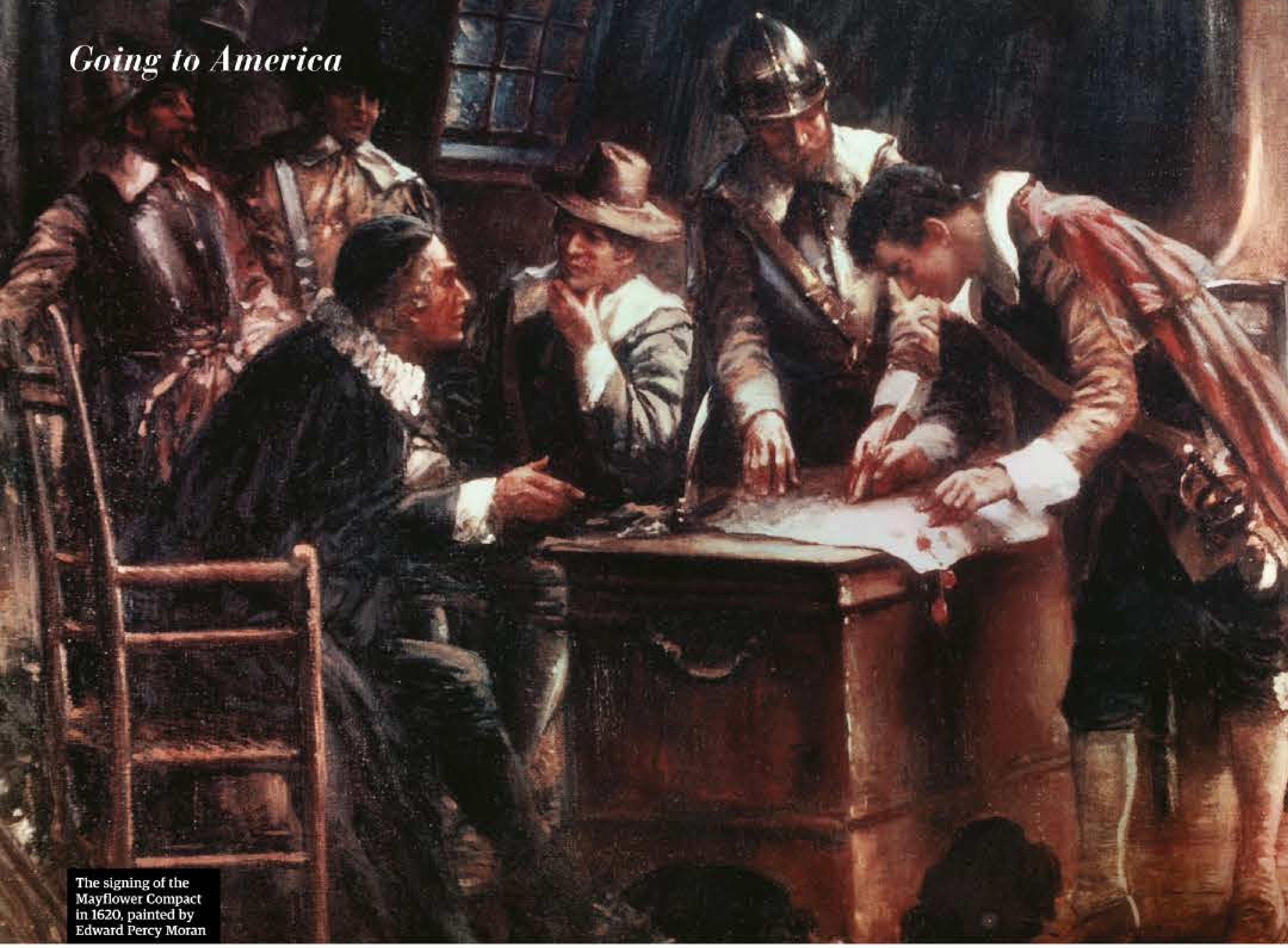
The immediate crisis was quieted with the ratification of the Mayflower Compact, an agreement signed by 41 male passengers that affirmed a "civil Body Politic" that would enact "just and equal laws" and required "due Submission and Obedience". The Compact, derived from the organisational structure of Congregational Church administration blended with elements of English common law, served as the basis for a regional government that lasted until 1691 when Plymouth became part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Carver is credited with the authorship of the document - he was its first signer and was elected the first governor of what became Plymouth Colony.

While the Mayflower stood off Provincetown, the first Pilgrims went ashore in Massachusetts on 13 November and set about constructing a small boat called a shallop to ferry supplies. Captain Myles Standish, the military leader, and Christopher Jones, captain of the Mayflower, conducted three expeditions in the following weeks. They stumbled across the graves of Native Americans, appropriated stashes of corn for their own use and engaged in a brief skirmish with the Native Americans in early December. Although there were no injuries on either side, this 'first encounter' with the Native Americans contributed to the Pilgrims' decision to look elsewhere for a suitable settlement location.

Sailing west, the Mayflower reached Plymouth Harbor on 16 December and dropped anchor. The Pilgrims were not the first Europeans to arrive in the area. Captain John Smith, famed as the leader of the Jamestown expedition in Virginia, had named the region New Plymouth in 1614, and other European explorers had preceded him there. The Native American Wampanoag Nation had inhabited the area that came to be known as New England for 10,000 years before the first white men arrived, and when traders, fishermen and adventurers mingled with them they introduced European diseases. Apparently, around 1619 a terrible epidemic, probably smallpox, had decimated the local Native American population



William Bradford served as governor of Plymouth Colony and also chronicled the history of the settlement



The signing of the Mayflower Compact in 1620, painted by Edward Percy Moran

of the Patuxet tribe. Their once thriving settlement was now abandoned. However, the land was cleared, and that would facilitate the eventual planting of crops. Fresh water sources were also nearby.

On 21 December 1620, the first Pilgrims came ashore at Plymouth and chose this high ground, later named Cole's Hill, for their own settlement. At Fort Hill, a short distance away, a cannon was positioned for defensive purposes. The only immediate provisions and shelter remained aboard the Mayflower, and most of the Pilgrims decided it was best to stay there during the early construction of dwellings and a storehouse on the land. Time was of the essence as the approaching winter promised to take its toll. Compounding the urgency was the simple fact that months aboard the vessel had left the voyagers weak and malnourished. Many of them suffered from scurvy.

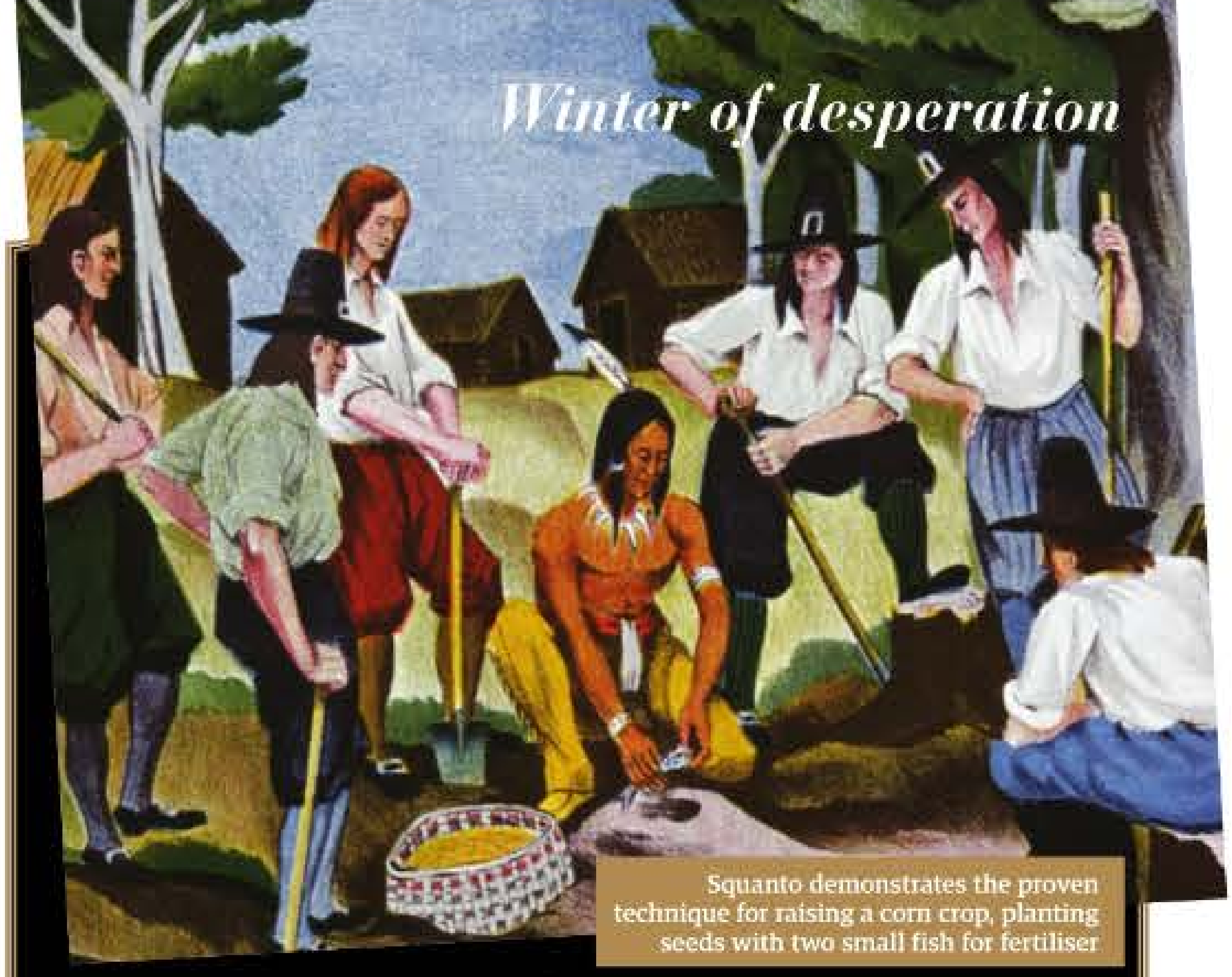
Bad weather plagued the construction effort, but at least 20 men remained ashore each night to safeguard the work that had been completed. The structures were built of wattle and daub, a technique of woven wooden strips covered in a mixture of animal dung, mud, clay, sand and straw. The first structure completed was a common house, which required two weeks of arduous labour. Seven of the company had already died, including Bradford's wife, Dorothy, who fell overboard from the Mayflower and drowned. Eventually, two rows of houses were completed and the dirt path between them was named Leyden Street in reference to the Pilgrims' time in the Netherlands. A governor's house and wooden stockade were erected later. At first, only a platform was built on Fort Hill to support a single cannon, but by the end of December five more heavy guns had been brought ashore and manhandled up the slope.

While the winter of 1620-21 was by no means the harshest experienced in New England, it was potent enough to claim numerous lives among the weakened Pilgrims, sailors and 'strangers' – labourers indentured to the Virginia Company (succeeded by a royal charter for the Plymouth Council for New England in November 1620) who were obliged to tolerate the Pilgrims' strict religious customs and leadership in exchange for eventual freedom in the New World.

During the first winter, 46 of the original 102 Pilgrims had succumbed to the ravages of the voyage, communicable disease or malnutrition. Of the 18 adult women among them, 13 perished during the first winter, and another died in the spring. A year after landing, only four adult women were left alive, and only 53 members of the entire company had survived to see the start of the new season. Many of the men whose construction skills had been counted on to build the dwellings and structures that would allow supplies to be offloaded from the Mayflower and the pitiful Pilgrims to leave the ship for good were so sick that they were unable to work. 19 buildings had been planned during the winter, but only seven homes and four storage houses were completed. The death toll would undoubtedly have been greater had Standish not plundered the Indians' corn stores.

Bradford wrote of the woeful times and then related a startling event. On 16 March 1621 he wrote: "A certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it." The Indian was Samoset, a prominent member of the Abenaki tribe, who had been acquainted with some of those early European traders and fishermen and had learned their language. He spoke to the Pilgrims of another Native American, Squanto, who was the sole survivor of the Patuxet epidemic, and arranged a meeting with Massasoit, chief of the Pokanoket tribe, and the Wampanoag Nation.

Six days later, Somoset returned with Massasoit and several other members of his tribe, along with



Squanto demonstrates the proven technique for raising a corn crop, planting seeds with two small fish for fertiliser

The journey of Squanto

One of the earliest Native Americans to get to know Europe, Squanto found his way back to Massachusetts

Although some details of the life of Tisquantum, known popularly by the diminutive Squanto, are unknown, he is believed to have been born around 1580. A member of the Patuxet tribe, he was kidnapped around 1614 by English explorer Thomas Hunt and sold into slavery in Spain, for a time serving a group of Roman Catholic monks. He escaped to England and lived as a free man before returning to his home five years later as a guide for explorer Robert Gorges. When Squanto arrived at the site of Patuxet settlement, he found devastation. All of the men, women, and children had died in a terrible epidemic of disease, and Squanto was the last of his people.

Squanto lived among the Pilgrims for nearly two years and provided invaluable assistance as the colonists sought to survive the difficult winter of 1620-21. He was so esteemed that when word was received that he had been captured by a rival Indian tribe Captain Myles Standish organised an expedition to secure his freedom. Squanto died of "Indian fever" in 1622, aged about 40, while guiding a trading expedition to the Indian settlement of Monomoy. Pilgrim leader William Bradford lamented his death as a "great loss".

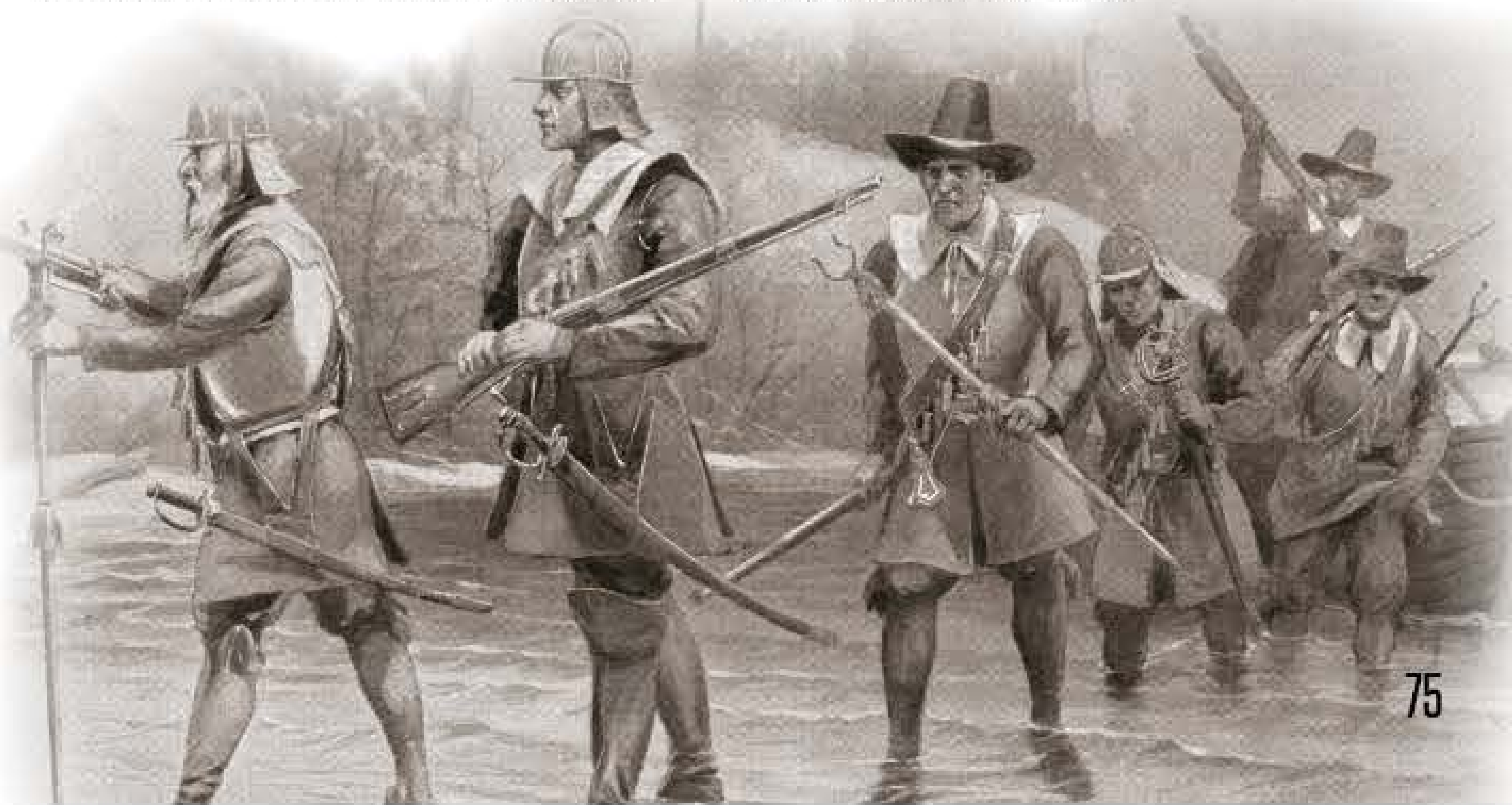
Squanto. Although shortly after their arrival in Massachusetts, Standish and his men had fired on Native Americans, several of Massasoit's people had been killed by English sailors during an earlier encounter, and Squanto had been kidnapped by Englishman Thomas Hunt and enslaved for a time in England before returning in 1619 with explorer Robert Gorges, the parties overcame their initial suspicions and distrust.

Governor Carver and Massasoit exchanged gifts and soon concluded a treaty that intended peace and mutual aid in the event that either people were attacked. The agreement, approved on 1 April 1621, even provided for the punishment of transgressors who might commit crimes against the others. Bradford noted that the treaty specified "that when their men [Massasoit's warriors] came to them [the Pilgrims], they should leave their bows and arrows behind them".

Squanto served as an interpreter between the Pilgrims and the Native Americans, and he helped to ensure the survival of the Europeans during their early months in America. He introduced them to agricultural methods such as planting corn with two small fish to serve as fertiliser. He told them of the best locations for fishing and where they were most likely to hunt successfully. After four months on station off the coast of Massachusetts, the Mayflower finally set sail for England.

The friendship of Massasoit, Samoset and Squanto fostered the stabilisation of the Plymouth Colony - had their initial encounter been hostile, it is unlikely the Pilgrims could have withstood an armed Indian assault. Squanto further assisted in the establishment of the fur trade, which became brisk and profitable.

Within days of the Mayflower's departure, Governor Carver fell ill while working in his garden and died. Bradford was elected to succeed him, and by the autumn of 1621 the settlement was reaping its first harvest, overcoming cruel adversity and suffering to achieve a measure of permanence. Although great challenges remained, the Pilgrims had established their foothold in the New World.



Captain Myles Standish and his soldiers come ashore at Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in November 1620

Two Worlds Collide

WORDS BY: *Alice Barnes-Brown*

When the Pilgrims first met their Native neighbours, they weren't sure what to make of them - but soon built a relationship which stood the test of time

When the Pilgrims arrived hungry, sick and cold to Plymouth Rock, it seemed as if the idea of building a colony in America was dead in the water. At first, it looked as if they were all doomed - in the first winter, about half of the Mayflower passengers had perished. But unbeknownst to them, they were being watched by a group of local Wampanoag Native Americans. Though the arrival of Europeans eventually spelled disaster for the indigenous people, at first the Pilgrims needed the Wampanoag far more than the Native Americans needed them.

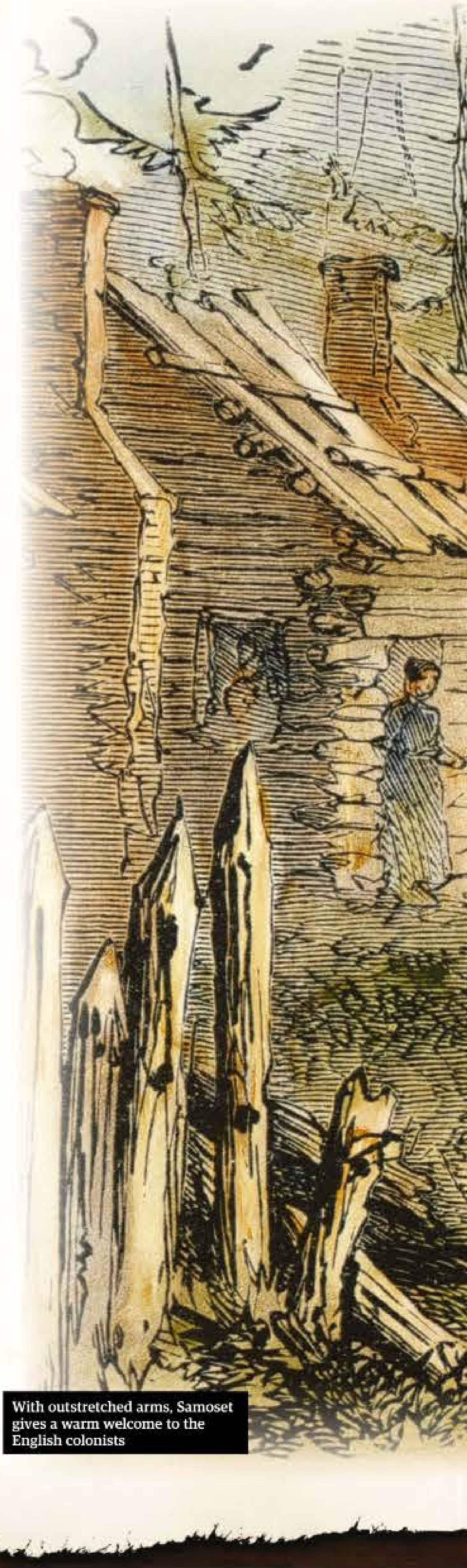
Since the Americas had been explored by Columbus in 1492, Europeans had been making the journey across the ocean to the New World. When they got there, they found a bountiful land filled with new kinds of flora, fauna and food. However, what surprised them most were the tribes that lived there. As most Europeans believed they came from the highest form of civilisation, they assumed that all other peoples must be 'savages' with only the most basic of lifestyles. However, Native Americans on the Northeast coast were a highly complex and advanced society, with intricate political structures, strictly defined societal roles and all the luxuries you could wish for.

The Wampanoag of what is now Massachusetts were one such tribe. Ethnically, they were an Algonquian people, but largely functioned independently from other tribes. Massasoit was an important chief of his people, the Pokanoket Wampanoag, and presided over the area the Pilgrims would come to land on - which was already home to 20,000 people. However, the Pilgrims would not be the first white folk he had come into contact with - European fishermen, traders and explorers had visited the coastline near him before.

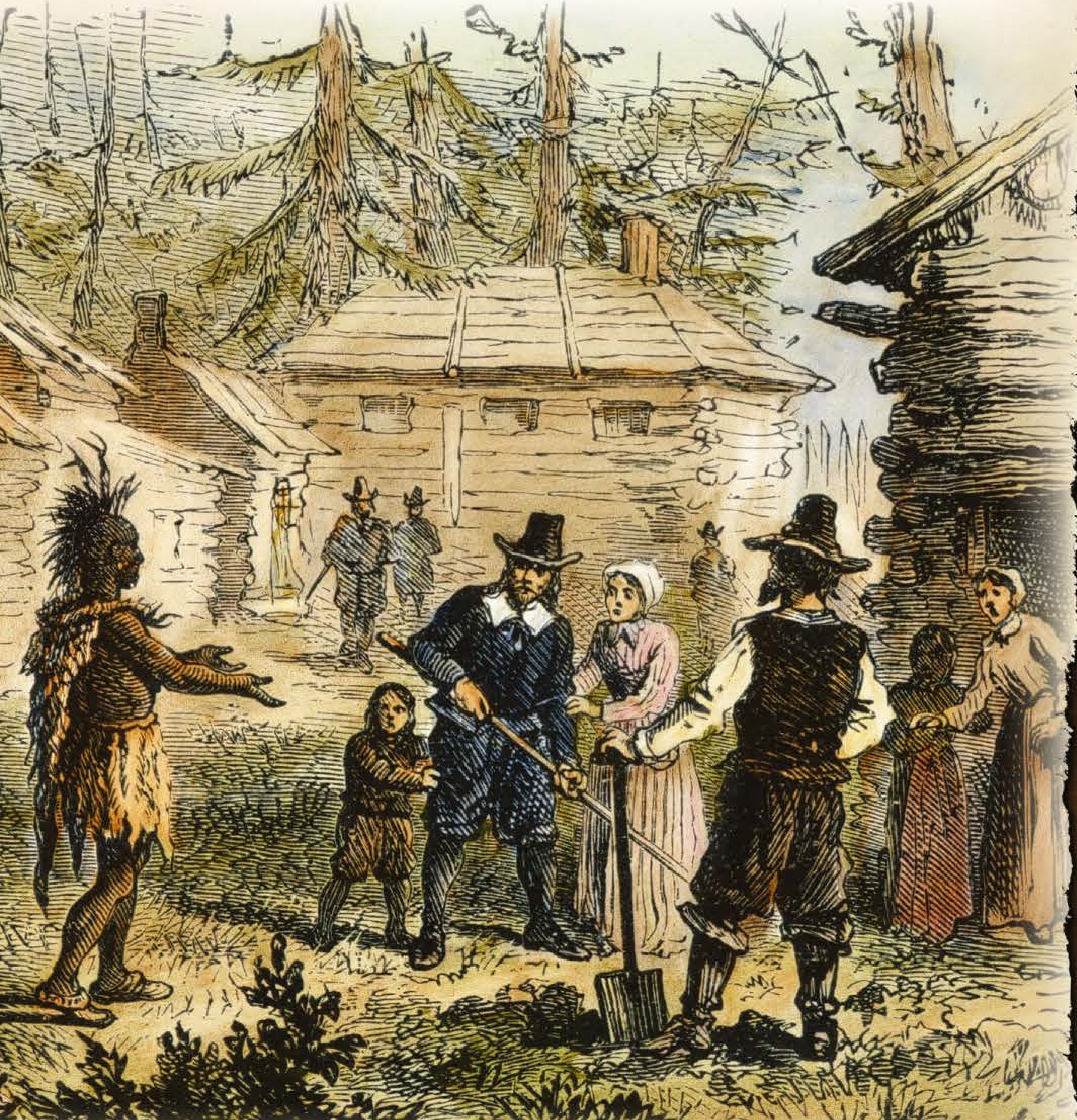
The Wampanoag liked what these foreign men had to offer - beautiful weapons, household items and all manner of trinkets. What was better was that they sold these items for practically nothing - sometimes all Massasoit needed to buy these unique and valuable objects was a couple of beaver pelts, which were to be found in abundance in the nearby forest.

However, the white men were never allowed to stay. They were short, pale and stocky, and because they did not speak any language the Wampanoag recognised, were viewed as immediately suspicious. If any European tried to outstay their welcome, they would find Wampanoag hospitality dried up, and they were chased away. While it might sound like a drastic measure, Massasoit and his fellow chiefs had perfectly good reason for doing so. As well as foreign treasures, the Europeans also brought foreign disease. Afflictions such as smallpox were often deadly to the Wampanoag, who had no natural immunity to the disease, as they had never encountered it before.

Shortly before the Pilgrims arrived, one such outbreak of smallpox brought by European fishermen



With outstretched arms, Samoset gives a warm welcome to the English colonists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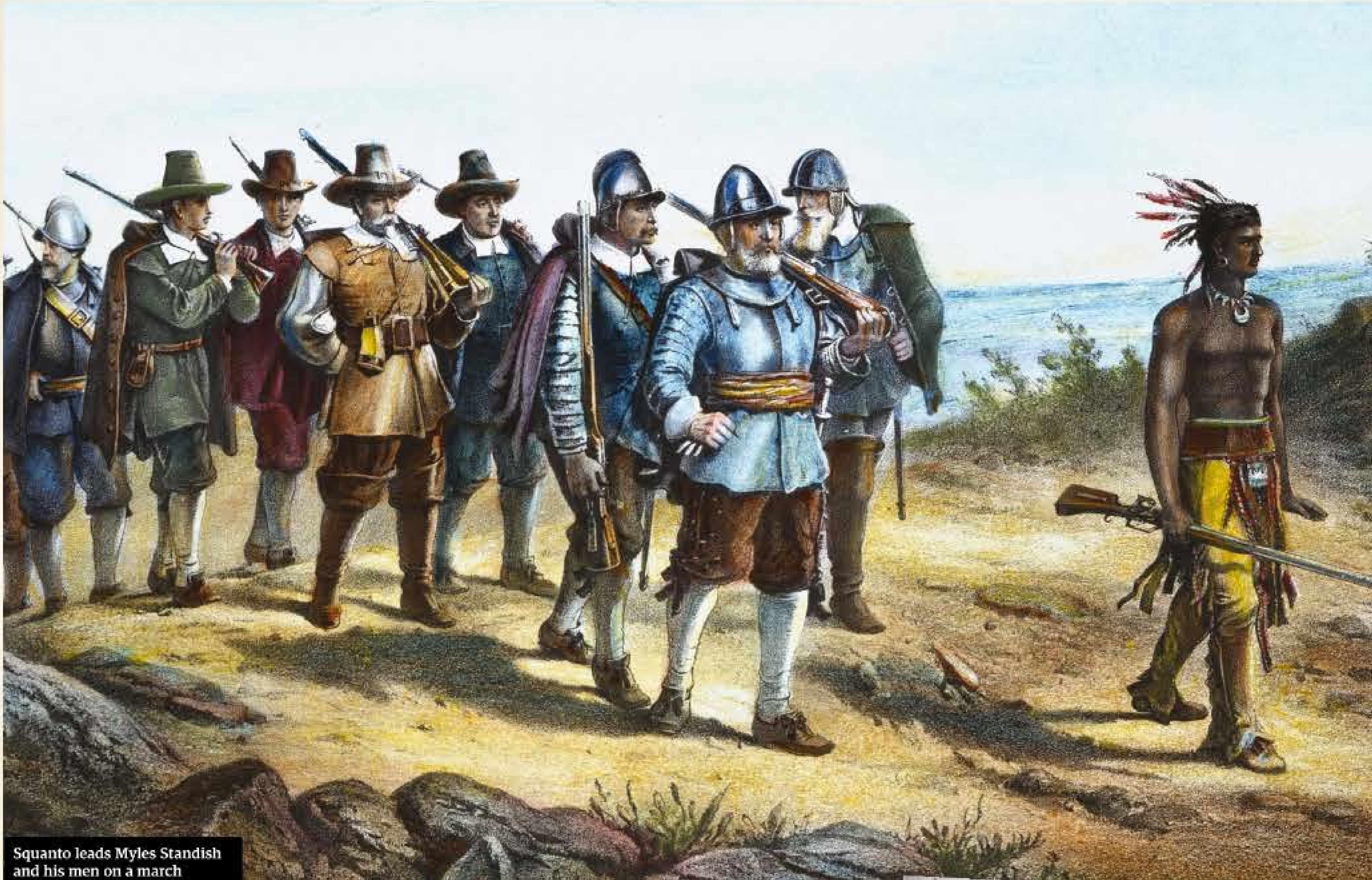


Squanto leads Myles Standish and his men on a march

had decimated Massasoit's village. It's estimated that between 50 and 90 per cent of the population had perished, leaving Massasoit's tribe very weak. Other tribes lurked on the horizon, waiting to take advantage of their vulnerable position. Massasoit, a wise leader by all accounts, was aware of this.

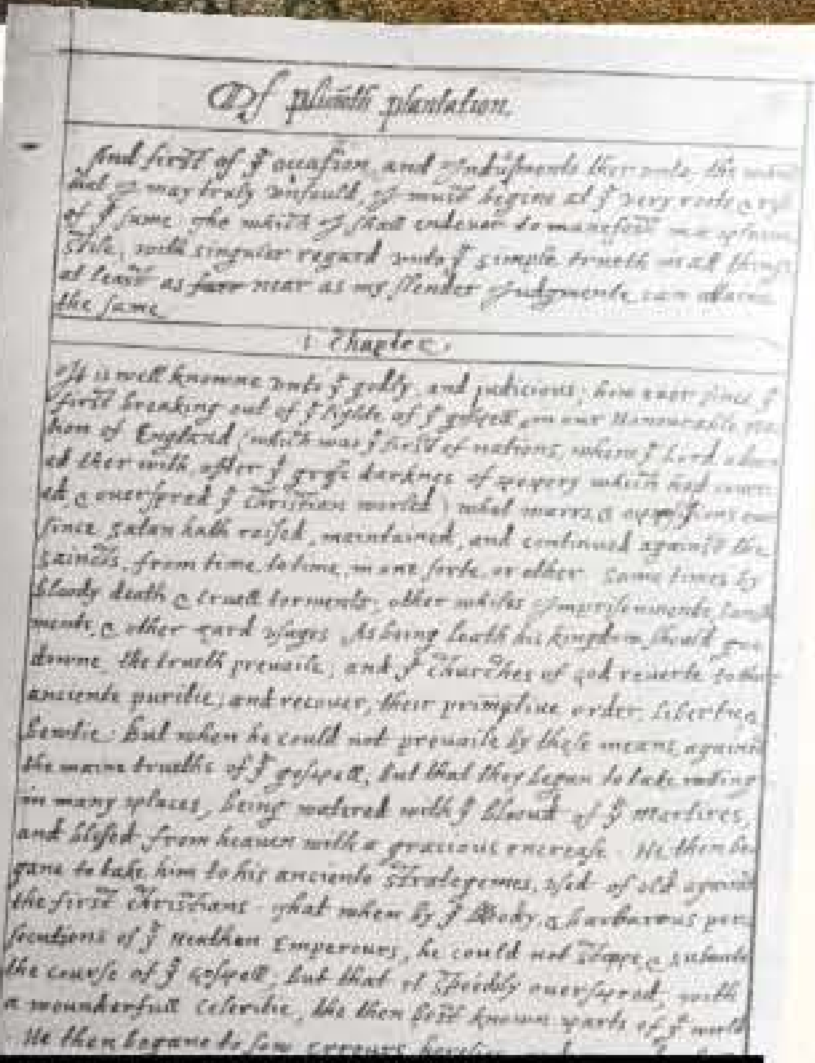
Of all of these tribes, the Narragansett were by far the most feared. They had been clashing with the Wampanoag for centuries, and kept their eyes firmly on Massasoit's riches. Though Massasoit didn't relish the idea of having white settlers for allies, he anticipated they might be useful, and decided to observe them. When on one occasion they were sighted by the settlers, they fired some arrows, though according to Bradford "not any one of them [Pilgrims] was hurt or hit". The arrows hit the Pilgrims' coat rack instead, and the settlers sent the strange weapons to England for people back home to look at. The Pilgrims dubbed this their first encounter with the Native Americans.

At the Plimoth Plantation museum, Wampanoag houses have been rebuilt

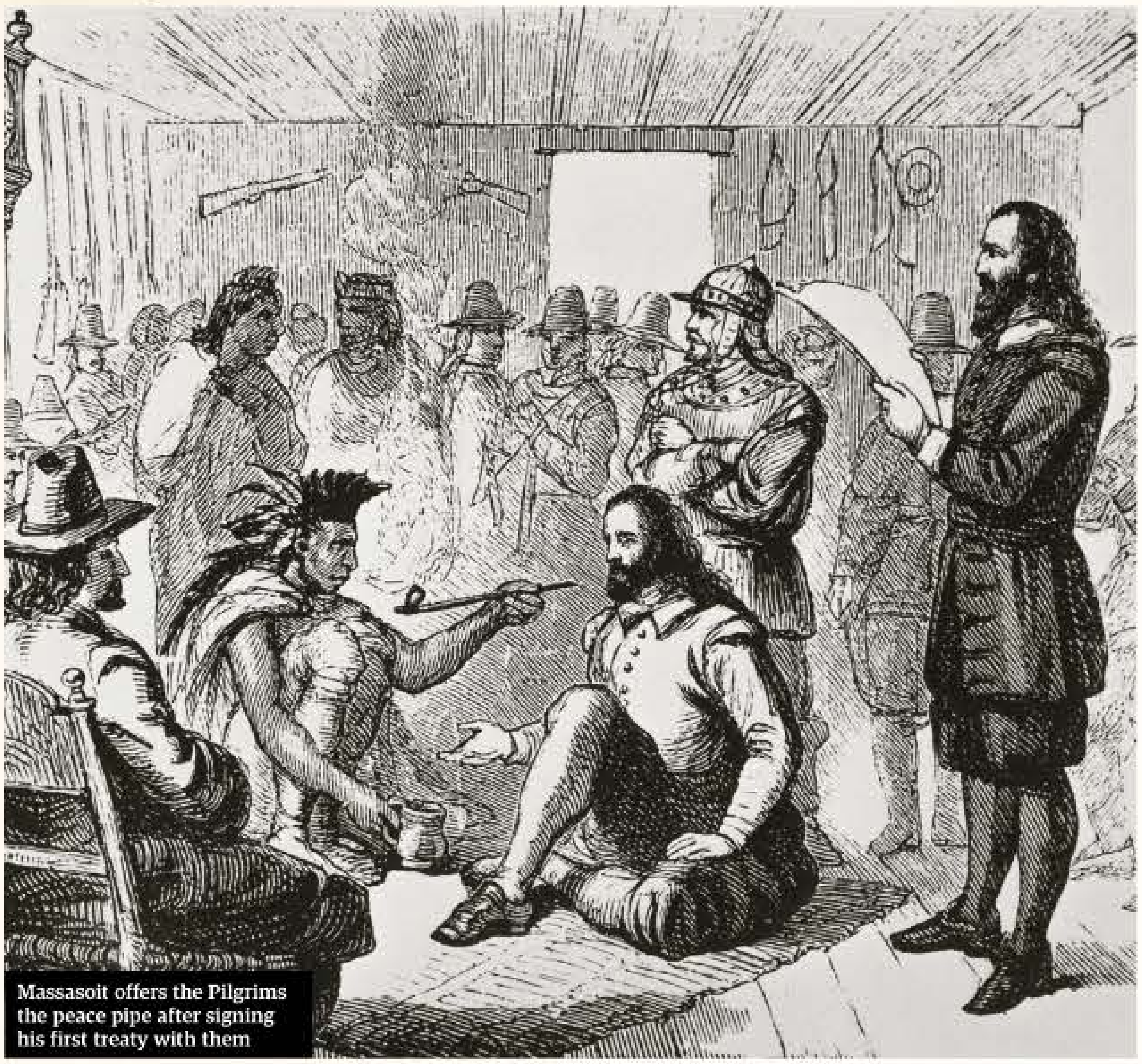
As well as Wampanoag wariness, the Pilgrims had other concerns. Having arrived in late autumn, the New England winter hit the pilgrims hard. Over half of the settlement had perished due to the cold and disease. At one point, they grew so desperate that they dug up the graves of recently deceased Native Americans, and took the corn placed symbolically inside them to eat.

However, the hardiest of the bunch would make it through the worst, and by spring there seemed to be a light at the end of the tunnel. So, when a Wampanoag man called Samoset finally emerged from the trees in March and offered his friendship, the Pilgrims genuinely believed he was a gift from God.

Samoset was a visually striking and tall man, and came to the Pilgrims unarmed as a representative of Massasoit. In his diary, Bradford describes their meeting thus: "a certain Indian, who came boldly amongst them and spoke in broken English - which they well understood, but marvelled at it". In conversation, the Pilgrims learned that Samoset had picked up English from fishermen who frequented the area, and heard all about these new



Bradford wrote all about the first encounter with the Wampanoag in his journal, *Of Plymouth Plantation*



Massasoit offers the Pilgrims the peace pipe after signing his first treaty with them

"Of all of these tribes, the Narragansett were by far the most feared. They had been clashing with the Wampanoag for centuries and kept their eyes on Massasoit's riches"

people. They gave Samoset some gifts and talked a little about themselves.

After Samoset had sussed the settlers out and deduced that they were relatively harmless, he returned to Massasoit to relay his observations. A few days later, Massasoit himself turned up at Plymouth's gates, along with Squanto, a Patuxet Wampanoag who was prized for his superior English skills. They came in the hope of making an arrangement with these encroachers, who in comparison to the Wampanoag were small, dirty and quite crude.

Another leading figure of the Plymouth Colony, Edward Winslow, kept a journal similar to Bradford's, and documented what he saw. Samoset, wearing only a loincloth, had brought with him "five tall proper men" with black stripes painted down the middle of their faces. Massasoit and Squanto were at first hesitant, and hid in the nearby bushes as Samoset introduced himself once more. When Massasoit and a number of Wampanoag warriors emerged from their hiding place, the colonists were frightened and ran up to the hill where they had placed a few cannons.

A standoff ensued, but thanks to Winslow's help, the misunderstanding was clarified and the two peoples soon got down to the negotiations. The two sides sat on some cushions and drank home-brewed alcohol, with Squanto acting as a translator.

Squanto's rise

Squanto had learned to speak English almost fluently, but the reason for it was that Squanto had suffered a long, traumatic ordeal at the hands of English slave traders. A few years prior to his meeting with the Pilgrims, as he was going about his business with some fellow Patuxet men, they were tempted aboard John Smith's ship with the promise of gifts. Once they boarded, they were chained up and thrown into the bowels of the ship.

The next time Squanto saw land, it would be the arid coastline of Málaga, in southern Spain. He and his fellow Patuxet were brought ashore and sold as slaves. Luckily, they couldn't be sold, because the Catholic Church disapproved and declared that all Native Americans were free men - making him worthless on the market. He was looked after by a monastery, who tried to convert him to Christianity. He complied, but only because he knew the monks would probably let him go once their work was done.

Squanto was right, and not only was he freed, he managed to secure passage to England in the hope he'd be able to catch a boat back home from there. Instead, lacking contacts and funds, he found himself in London for quite some time. He lived with a merchant named John Slany, who partly kept Squanto as an assistant, and partly as a curiosity for

Key Figure: Edward Winslow

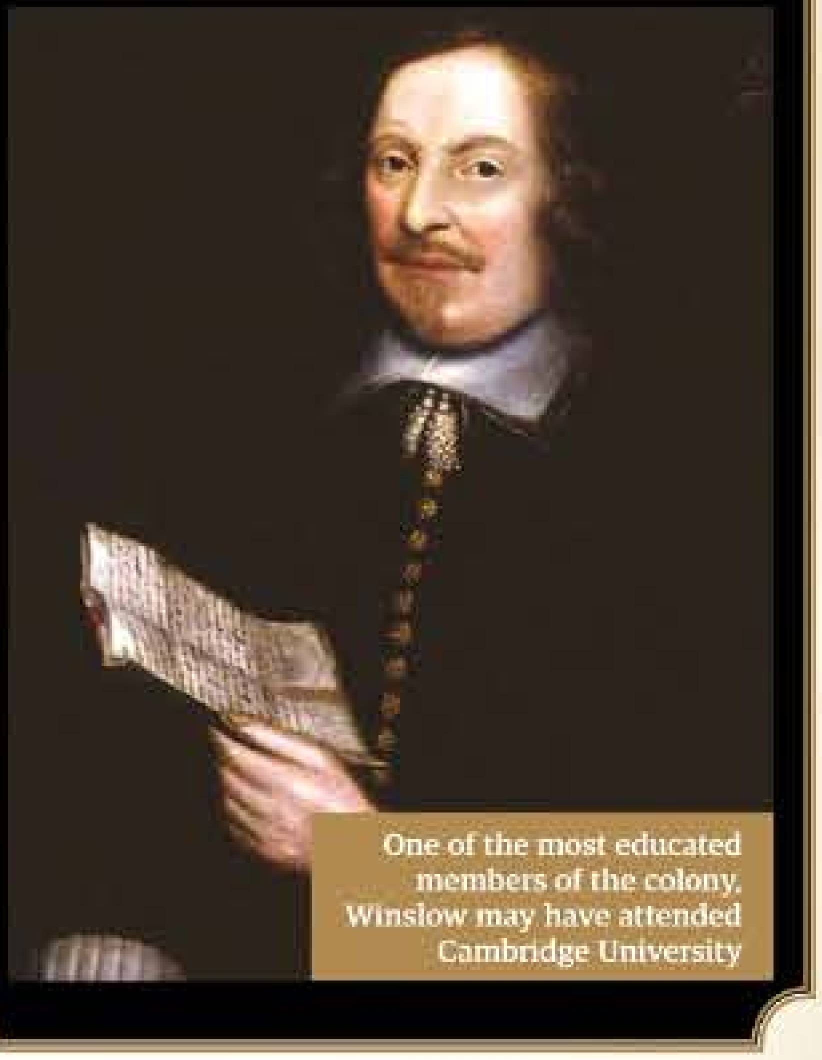
Winslow was one of the first Pilgrims to befriend the Wampanoag

Edward Winslow, one of Plymouth Colony's most important people, was a natural born leader - in fact, he would serve in Bradford's role as governor no less than three times.

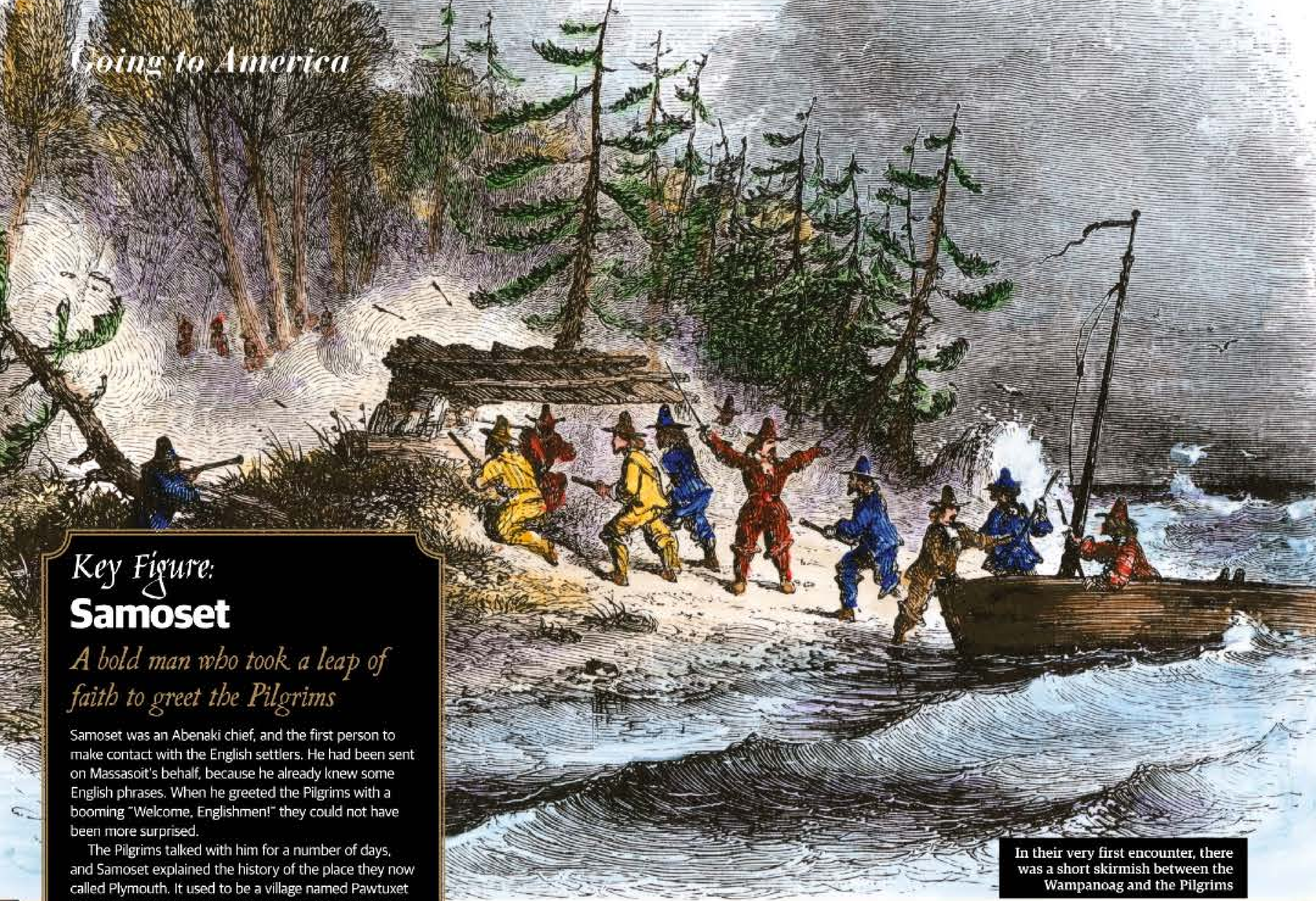
Born in 1595 in Worcestershire, he was raised in a Pilgrim household, and moved to the Netherlands to escape persecution in 1617. However, like many others, he grew dissatisfied with life there. Struggling to assimilate to Dutch culture and learn the language, while worrying the Pilgrims would lose their English heritage, he decided to set sail on the Mayflower.

When he arrived, he wrote a journal which documented everything he saw. During the first meeting with the Wampanoag, when things got a little heated and the Pilgrims stood by their cannons, Winslow waded across the river and offered himself as a hostage. Massasoit's brother took him in, and he won Massasoit's trust, allowing negotiations to start in earnest.

He frequently dealt with the Native Americans after that - he wrote down their customs and spiritual beliefs, and observed what they did. As governor, he made sure to keep the peace, and made frequent visits to England to let them know how the colony was getting on. However, his time in North America was limited, and after returning to England he died on a voyage to the Caribbean in 1655.



One of the most educated members of the colony, Winslow may have attended Cambridge University



In their very first encounter, there was a short skirmish between the Wampanoag and the Pilgrims

visitors to his house to gawp at. Either way, Slany taught Squanto his English, and eventually put him on a ship back to New England.

However, when Squanto finally got home to his Patuxet village in 1619, he found everyone there had died of a disease introduced by Europeans. As he wandered through Massasoit's territory pondering his next move, Massasoit took him captive and held him prisoner - while Squanto was not strictly an enemy, Massasoit didn't quite trust him to roam free.

When the Pilgrims came, Squanto was still living with Massasoit's band. Squanto proved incredibly useful to Massasoit, especially during the first formal encounter, when he helped prevent any cultural misunderstandings by acting as a translator.

As Massasoit and the Pilgrims smoked the ceremonial pipe together, they agreed first and foremost not to 'do hurt' to one another. This created a state of peace and security, allowing both parties to flourish without worrying about whether one side was plotting against the other. Next, the Pilgrims agreed to protect the Wampanoag from rival tribes such as the Narragansett, in exchange for Native American aid that would allow the Europeans to survive on the new land and its harsh climate. The treaty also stipulated that should anyone break its terms, they would be sent back to their own people and punished however they saw fit.

With a treaty signed - the first between any Native Americans and white settlers - everyone breathed a huge sigh of relief. Naturally, there was some degree of mistrust between the two parties, but now they had an agreement in writing it would be difficult for either to go to war. As part of the deal, Squanto was sent to live with the Pilgrims, so he could show them how to survive.

One of the first things he did was teach them how to grow the best food for the new environment. The soil and climate were different to home, so the Pilgrims struggled initially to cultivate the same plants they could grow in Europe. Squanto showed them how to plant Native American staples such as corn, squash and beans. These were much tougher crops. Then, he showed them that dried herring could be used as a fertiliser. Though it may have been pungent, it was plentiful in the rivers, and would help plant growth greatly. The rivers could also provide fish and beavers, which Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to catch.

In the forest, he showed the white settlers how to forage for edible nuts and berries. While he was at it, he showed the Pilgrims sturdy building trees, which they could chop down and use to finally construct some permanent buildings. Squanto continued to translate, and improved his English. Bradford was so grateful for his help that he said Squanto was "a special instrument sent from God, for their good beyond their expectation". Once, when he was kidnapped, the Pilgrims launched a daring rescue mission to get Squanto back again.

Key Figure: Samoset

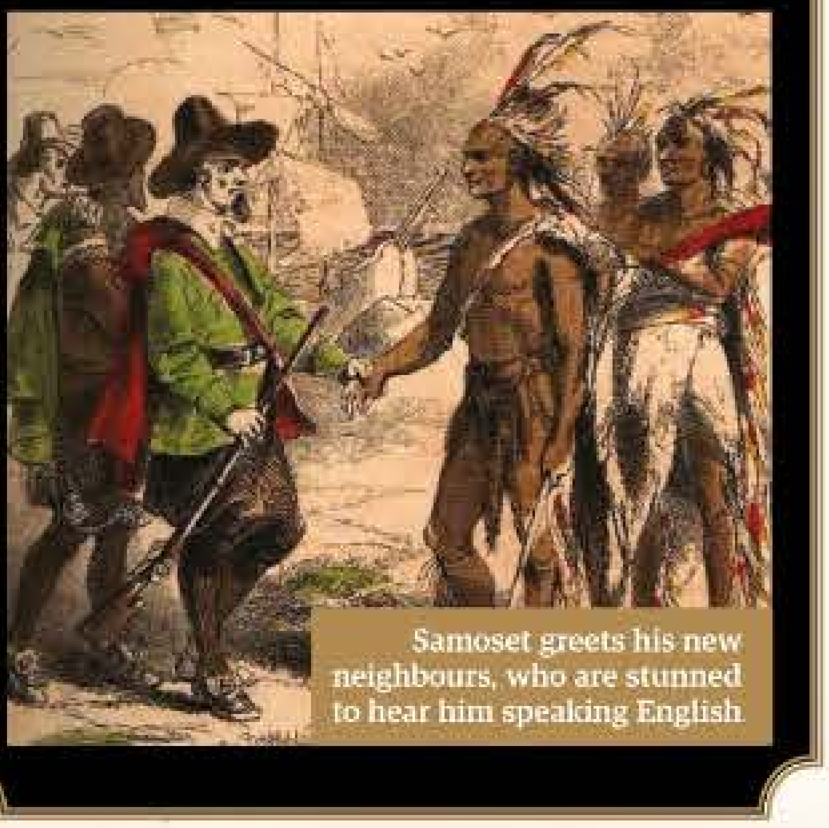
A bold man who took a leap of faith to greet the Pilgrims

Samoset was an Abenaki chief, and the first person to make contact with the English settlers. He had been sent on Massasoit's behalf, because he already knew some English phrases. When he greeted the Pilgrims with a booming "Welcome, Englishmen!" they could not have been more surprised.

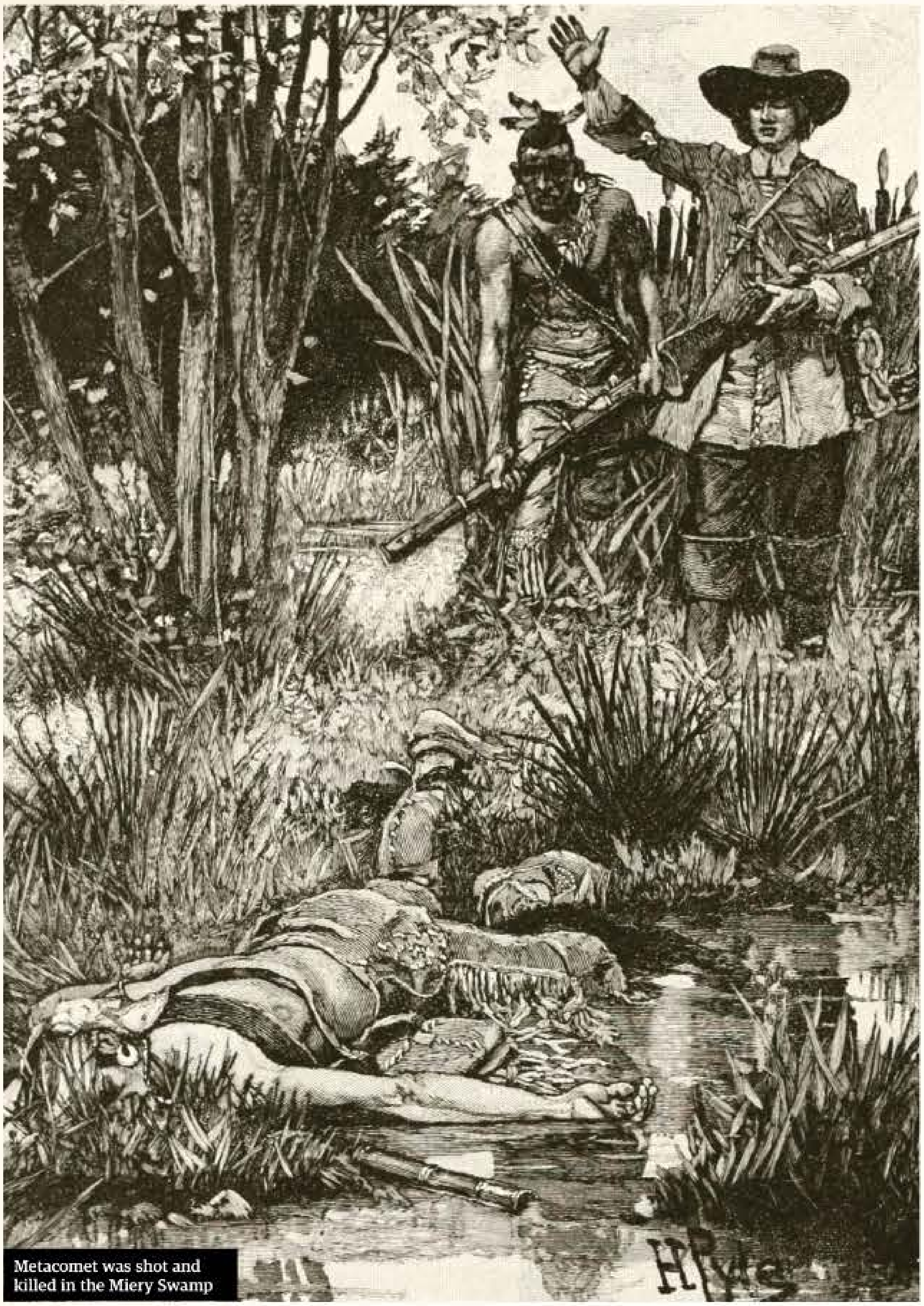
The Pilgrims talked with him for a number of days, and Samoset explained the history of the place they now called Plymouth. It used to be a village named Pawtuxet (where Squanto's people originated from), but had been left deserted after disease wiped out the population. He also explained who the Wampanoag were, and how he had come to learn English. Before he left, he was given a knife, bracelets and some other presents by the English, which proved to the Wampanoag that the settlers were friendly and had items to trade.

After their relationship had been well established, Samoset continued to serve as a diplomat. He dabbled in business, and became the first Native American to sell land to settlers - 12,000 acres of it. This was significant, as it proved the rightful owners to the land had been Native Americans all along - but it set a deadly precedent.

It's thought Samoset died in 1653, after living peacefully and doing business with the English throughout his life.



Samoset greets his new neighbours, who are stunned to hear him speaking English



Metacomet was shot and killed in the Miery Swamp

"Squanto proved incredibly useful to Massasoit, especially during the first formal encounter"

His help enabled the Pilgrims to thrive. So much so that in the autumn of 1621, the Pilgrims and Wampanoag got together to celebrate surviving the year, at which they feasted on a variety of meats, fruit and vegetables. By this time, Wampanoag trust in the Pilgrims had increased, after some months had passed without breaching the treaty.

The mighty fallen

They were to embark on a trading expedition to a Native American village named Monomoy, in Cape Cod. Squanto was to be their guide. When they arrived, they traded beans and coloured beads, which suggests the Pilgrims were now strong enough to be able to do business with other peoples. However, whilst the English were dealing with their new trading partners, Squanto had contracted something terrible. He started "bleeding much at the nose", and on their way back to Plymouth, Squanto passed away. Without his help, it may have signalled the end of goodwill between Native Americans and the Pilgrim encroachers.

However, it turned out that Squanto had made a number of enemies in life, and the Pilgrims and Wampanoag could get on just fine without him. He had always been an ambitious man, seeking to gain whatever he could for himself. Having convinced Massasoit to ally with the English in the first place, he proceeded to plot against the man who had kept him captive. Even amongst his new friends, he had a reputation for being manipulative and power hungry, so in 1621 the Pilgrims appointed a Pokanoket warrior named Hobbamock to keep Squanto in check.

Neither was he popular with Massasoit. When Squanto had gone to Massasoit to warn him (falsely) that the colonists were about to kill him, he immediately offered his assistance in brokering a peace. Massasoit, knowing that Squanto was never usually this eager to help, investigated. Sure enough, the colonists had no plans to bite the hand that fed them. Worse still, Squanto had spread a rumour that Massasoit was working with his sworn enemies - the Narragansett - to get rid of the English. Again, this was not true.

The two parties came together to discuss what to do. In a direct breach of their treaty's terms, the English refused to hand Squanto over to Massasoit to be executed, as he had proven too useful to them. Squanto's life may have been spared, but he was forced to stick with the English for the rest of his life - which turned out to be less than a year, anyway.

The relationship between the Pilgrims and their Wampanoag allies remained on good terms for the next 50 years, but cracks had started to show themselves. While Squanto had helped sow the seeds of discontent, they had already been growing. Fundamental cultural differences often prevented the two sides from seeing eye to eye.

Religion was a particular sticking point. The Pilgrims regarded it as part of their mission to convert these 'heathen' Native Americans, who had their own complex belief system and a reverence for the natural world, to Christianity. To the Wampanoag, this was a foreign religion which blatantly disregarded the power of Mother Earth. While some Native Americans did convert to Christianity as the Pilgrims wished, they were only a very few. Additionally, their conversion had created a deep rift in the tribal structure - they became spitefully known as 'Praying Indians', and were now seen as legitimate targets by their fellow Wampanoag.

The Pilgrims also could not understand how Native Americans used land. Back home, the concepts of private property, money and ownership were the basis of society. In America, the Wampanoag - like many other indigenous American peoples - believed that the land was gifted to the people as a whole, and they used and tended the land collectively. The Pilgrims preferred to grow

"Though the two parties managed to coexist in the same space for decades, the deaths of unifying figures Bradford and Massasoit ushered in a new, tenser era of relations"

different fruits and vegetables in separate fields, but the Wampanoag made sure to plant a variety in the same space, which helped to replenish the soil's nutrients. These beliefs came into conflict when the Pilgrims gained strength, and started expanding their land space.

Though the two parties managed to coexist in the same space for decades, the deaths of unifying figures Bradford and Massasoit ushered in a new, tenser era of relations. Bradford died in 1657, but had already prophesised to the people that New England would soon be torn apart by war. This vision was made all the more likely when Massasoit, who had long been a friend to the English, passed away in 1661. Colonists such as Myles Standish, a military man, were left feeling vulnerable. Some even launched pre-emptive attacks on their Native American allies, which worsened tensions almost beyond repair.

To make matters worse, the number of colonists in New England was expanding at an alarming rate. By 1670, there were 52,000 European colonists in the region. As a result of disease and warfare on the indigenous side, this meant that white settlers now outnumbered Native people three to one. Having seen the brutality the Pilgrims could be capable of during the Pequot War of 1636, this was alarming for all of North America's tribes.

War erupts

Massasoit's son, Metacomet (also known as King Philip), had always been suspicious of the settlers. When he succeeded his father, he initially tried to maintain the status quo. However, it was nearly impossible, especially as the settlers were now buying up Native land for trifles such as guns, alcohol and household items. Dartmouth, for instance, was sold for "30 yards of cloth, eight moose skins, 15 axes, 15 hoes, 15 pairs of shoes, one iron pot and ten shillings' worth of assorted goods". This also meant that the settlers were trying to impose European rules on these places, and get the Wampanoag to surrender their weapons, which Metacomet found intolerable. The English had also sentenced three Wampanoag men to death for the murder of a Christian Native American (and spy for the English), which enraged the Wampanoag, as the English were overreaching their judicial powers by sentencing Wampanoag men.

So, in 1675, long-brewing tensions between the settlers and the Native Americans finally came to a head. When Metacomet's men attacked the border town of Swansea, Massachusetts, the Pilgrims came down hard on their old friends. The English also attacked a Narragansett town, which had the effect of uniting them to the Wampanoag - a once unimaginable alliance. However, the English swiftly defeated the Narragansett, and when they found

Key Figure: **Massasoit**

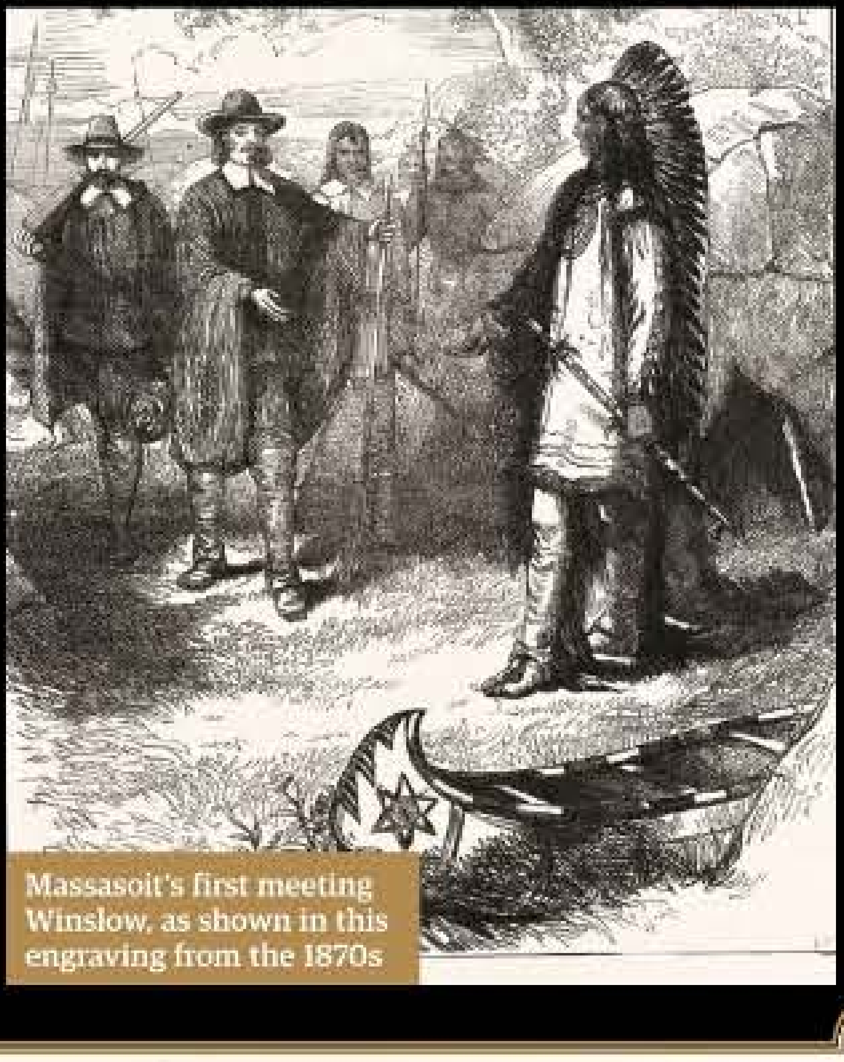
When faced with a difficult choice, Massasoit chose the one he thought would benefit his people most

As the sachem (great chief) of the entire Wampanoag people, Massasoit ruled over tens of thousands of Native Americans. When the Pilgrims landed on his turf, he was faced with a quandary. He could fight them, which had been the norm for Europeans who had outstayed their welcome - but his people had been weakened by European disease. Or, he could risk helping them - bucking convention and disrupting the political system of the region.

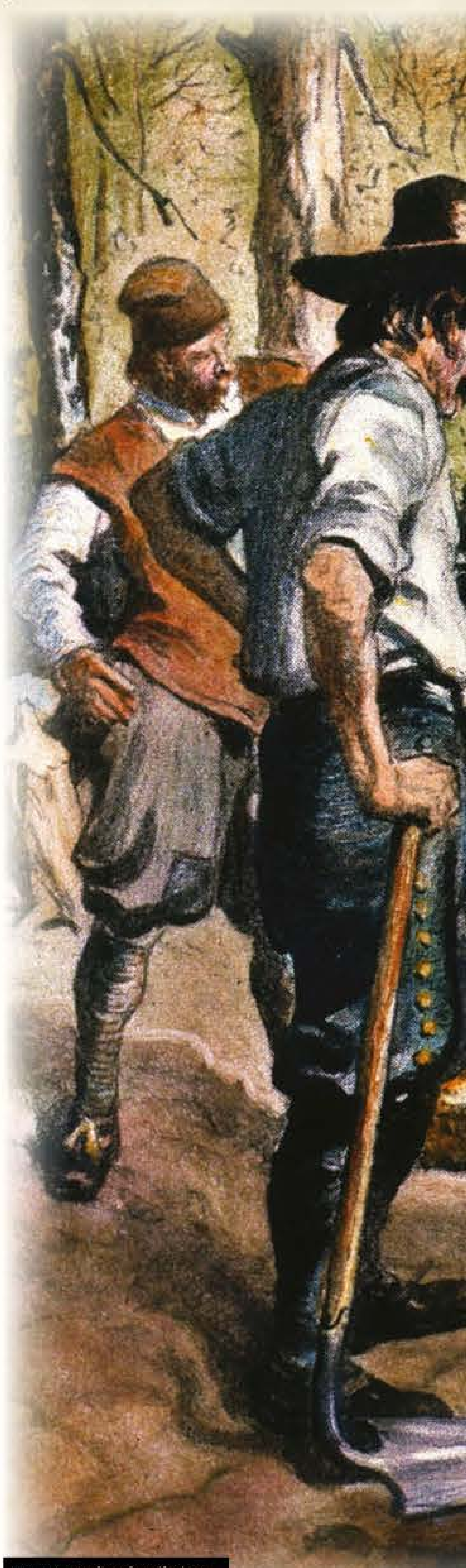
Massasoit chose to help, because he needed new allies against the Narragansett and liked that the English had useful goods to trade. In particular, he was interested in their guns. Once they had befriended one another, the English would sometimes bring them to the village to help the Wampanoag shoot down crows that ate the crops.

He became friends with Winslow, who described him as "a lusty man in his best years… grave of countenance, and spare of speech". On one occasion, when he fell gravely ill, Winslow made the journey to Massasoit's village and nursed Massasoit back to health.

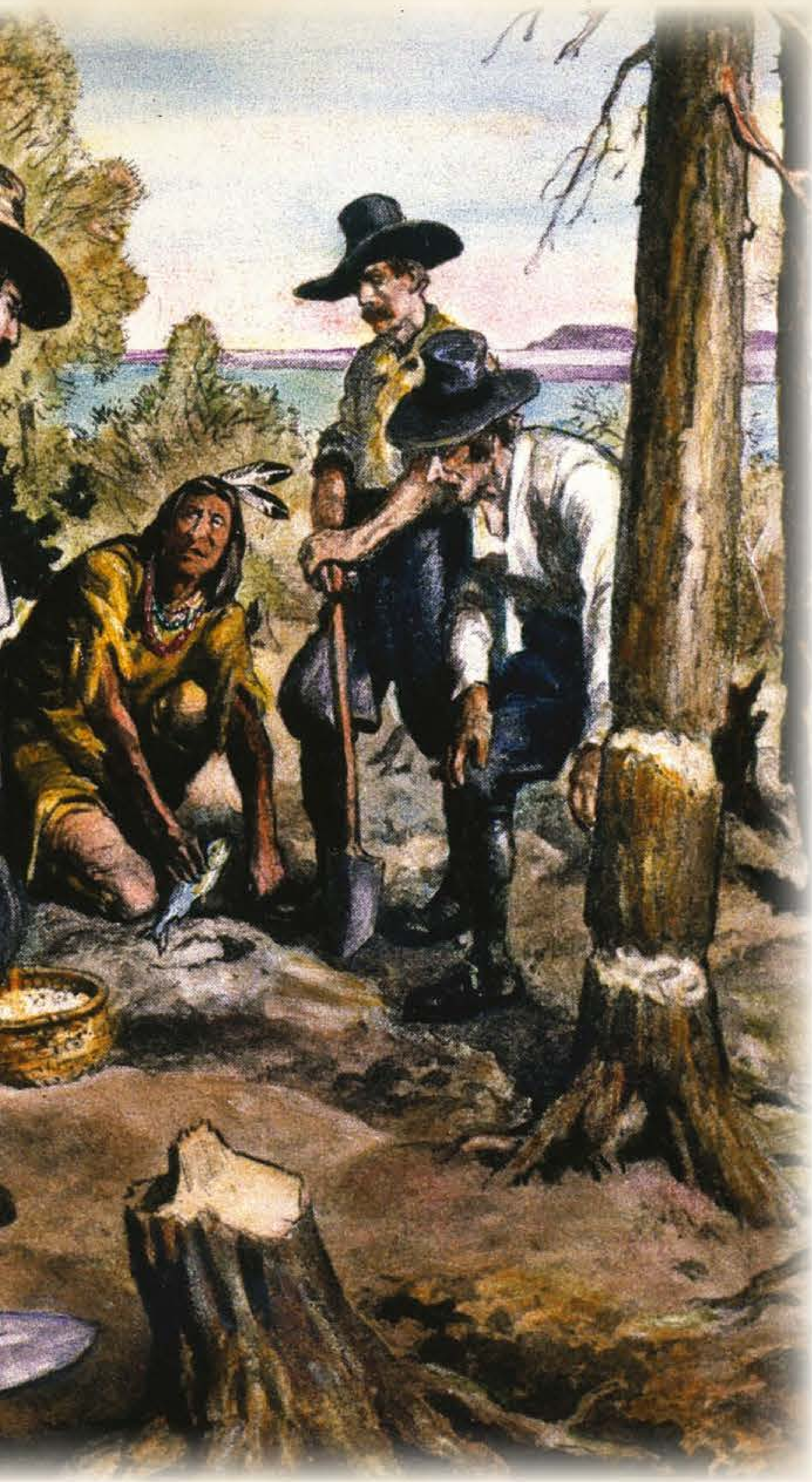
Massasoit maintained a good relationship with the Pilgrims as long as he lived, but died in 1661 - an era when relations were becoming increasingly fraught.



Massasoit's first meeting Winslow, as shown in this engraving from the 1870s



Sqaunto teaches the Pilgrims how best to tend to the land

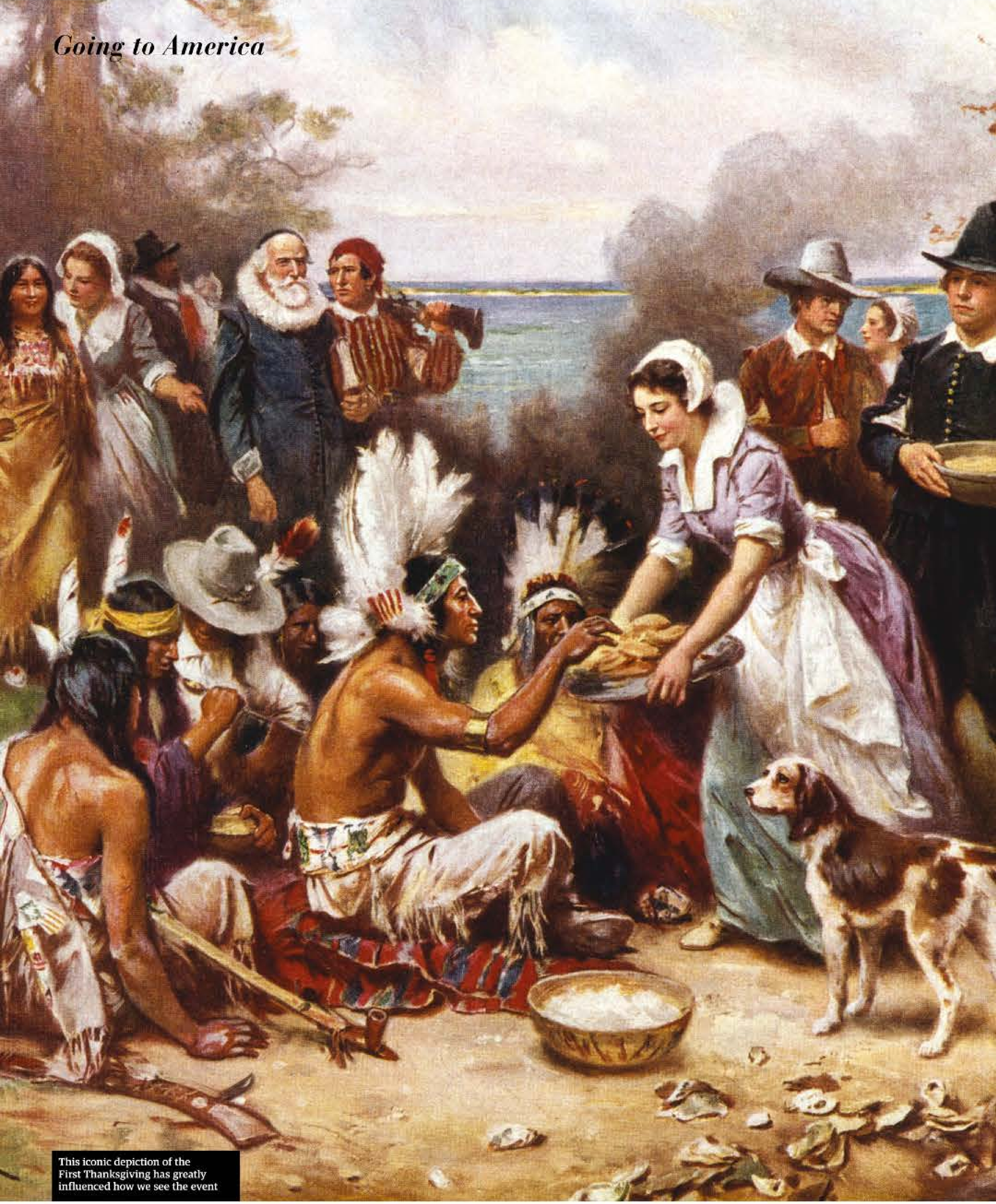


This statue of Massasoit stands in five different locations

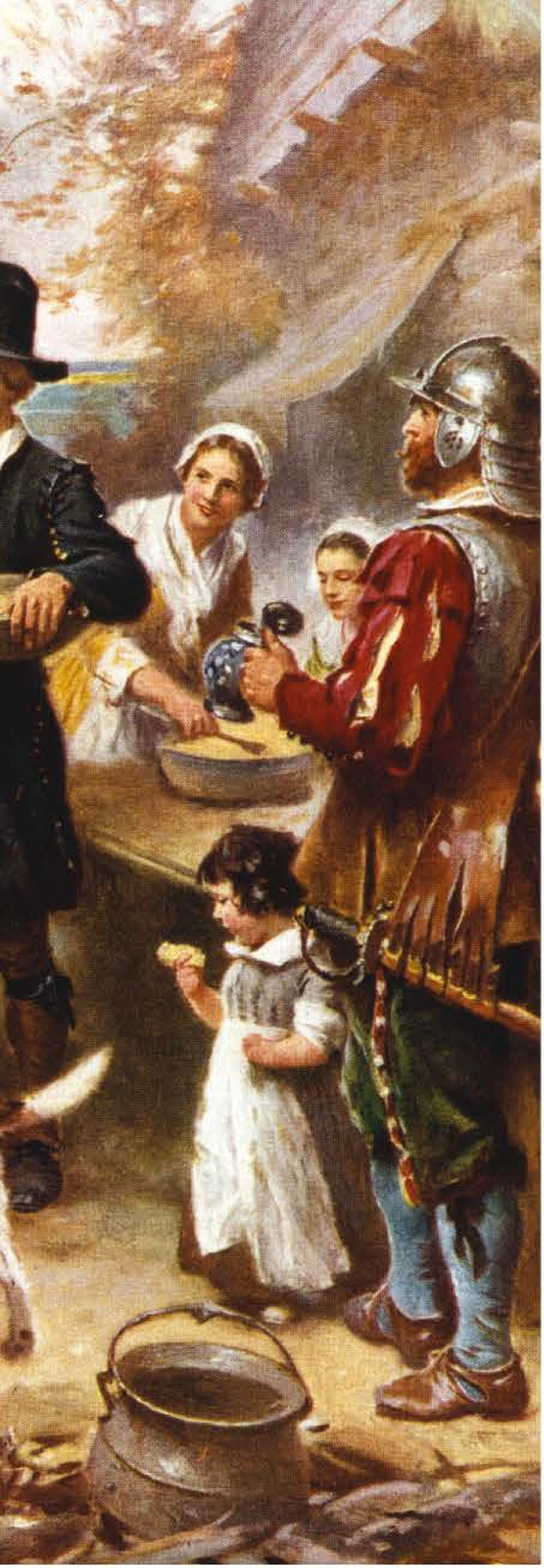
Metacomet's hideout in 1676, they sent a Praying Indian to assassinate him. The resistance soon folded, and Metacomet's head was humiliatingly displayed on a pike for more than two decades.

King Philip's War, as it came to be called, was a great tragedy. Not only had the peace been disrupted, but thousands of Native Americans had been killed - including 600 Narragansett alone - or sold into effective slavery. Many Wampanoag fled the area they had been inhabiting for millennia. On the side of the Pilgrims, they had won the war, but lost 12 of their towns and hundreds of their soldiers. After the war had finished, the English turned on the Christian Native Americans, and forced them to relocate.

Thus, after decades of peace and cooperation, the relationship between Native Americans and the English colonisers was broken beyond repair. For the next few centuries, more settlers would come and continue the onslaught on Native American life. Of course, the Native Americans fought back with vigour, or tried to integrate into white society, but found themselves denied at every turn. The arrival of the Europeans was nothing short of disaster for their way of life - but for the first 50 years of their coexistence, at least, the two groups managed to live together relatively peacefully - and even developed a grudging respect for one another.



This iconic depiction of the First Thanksgiving has greatly influenced how we see the event



The first Thanksgiving:

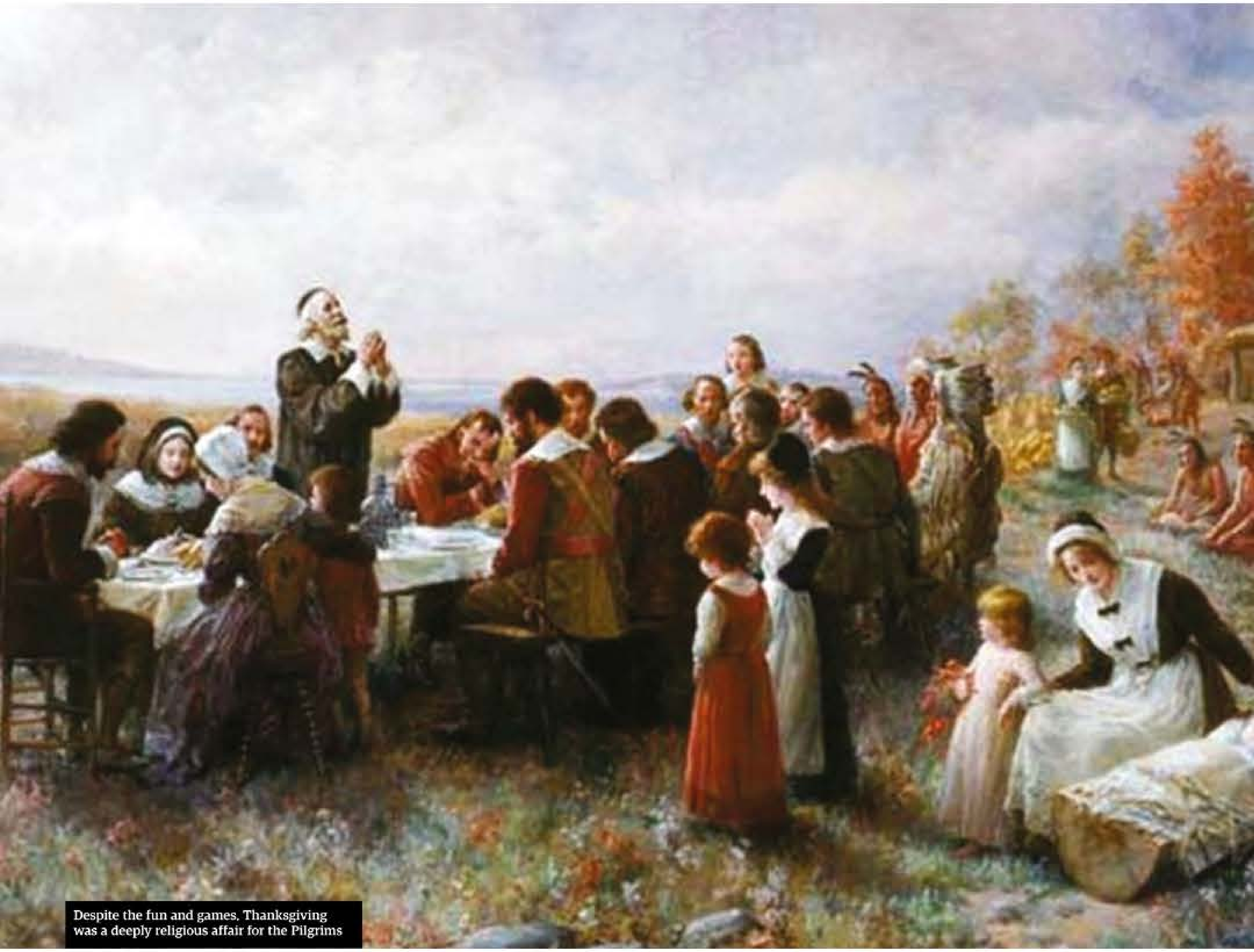
1621

WORDS BY: *Alice Barnes-Brown*

How a peace treaty between the Wampanoag and the Pilgrims gave birth to America's most popular holiday

In a harmonious and humbling scene, a woman in a lilac dress and a little bonnet offers a platter of food to a feather-headdress-wearing Native American. Smoke from the fire rises in the background, wafting the scent of freshly cooked meat into the air. Hungry folk gather round a table, and Pilgrim ladies share secrets with Native American women. This happy scene from Jean Louis Gerome Ferris' *The First Thanksgiving 1621*, represents America's first Thanksgiving feast, shared between the Plymouth Pilgrims and the local Wampanoag. But was the event as tranquil as the painting suggests?

Versions of the story taught in schools across the US will tell us that the Pilgrims, having arrived in America in the autumn, struggled to survive the harsh winter. The local Wampanoag tribe saw them struggle, and decided to help the new settlers. They were taught how to use the land, grow local produce and catch their food. Having survived their first year, the Pilgrims invited the Wampanoag to celebrate and feast with them. Thus, Thanksgiving was born. However, the real story is more complicated.



Despite the fun and games, Thanksgiving was a deeply religious affair for the Pilgrims

Certainly, the Pilgrims did suffer much hardship. Their ship arrived into the area that would become the Plymouth Colony in November 1620, after having journeyed across the rough Atlantic at an average speed of two miles per hour. In their first winter, without the help of the Native Americans, people were dying at rates up of up to three per day. Diseases such as scurvy and pneumonia plagued the colony, and with a declining food supply, the Pilgrims were weak. Some oral histories even suggest the Pilgrims robbed corn from the graves of Native Americans, they were so hungry.

Watching from a distance, the Wampanoag tribe that lived in that area could relate to their pain. Owing to a previous encounter with European fishermen, deadly diseases from Europe (to which the Native Americans had no immunity) had decimated their population, with up to 50 to 90 per cent of Wampanoag people succumbing to sickness.

But from this prior encounter, the Wampanoag learned that as well as disease, Europeans carried valuable goods such as steel knives and axes, which they would often desperately exchange for menial items such as beaver pelts. Samoset, one of their members, approached the Pilgrims and befriended them in March 1621. He only spoke very broken English, but his kindness was gratefully received. Taking pity on them - and believing they could be useful - he introduced them to the Wampanoag chief, Massasoit.

Massasoit reluctantly agreed to help, but only if the English refused to harm them, and would help defend the Wampanoag against their roving rivals - the feared Narragansett - if need be. With that, the Native Americans set to work helping the Pilgrims to plant their own corn, squash and beans, using herring as a fertiliser. Before long, the Pilgrims were even in a position to trade with their new friends.

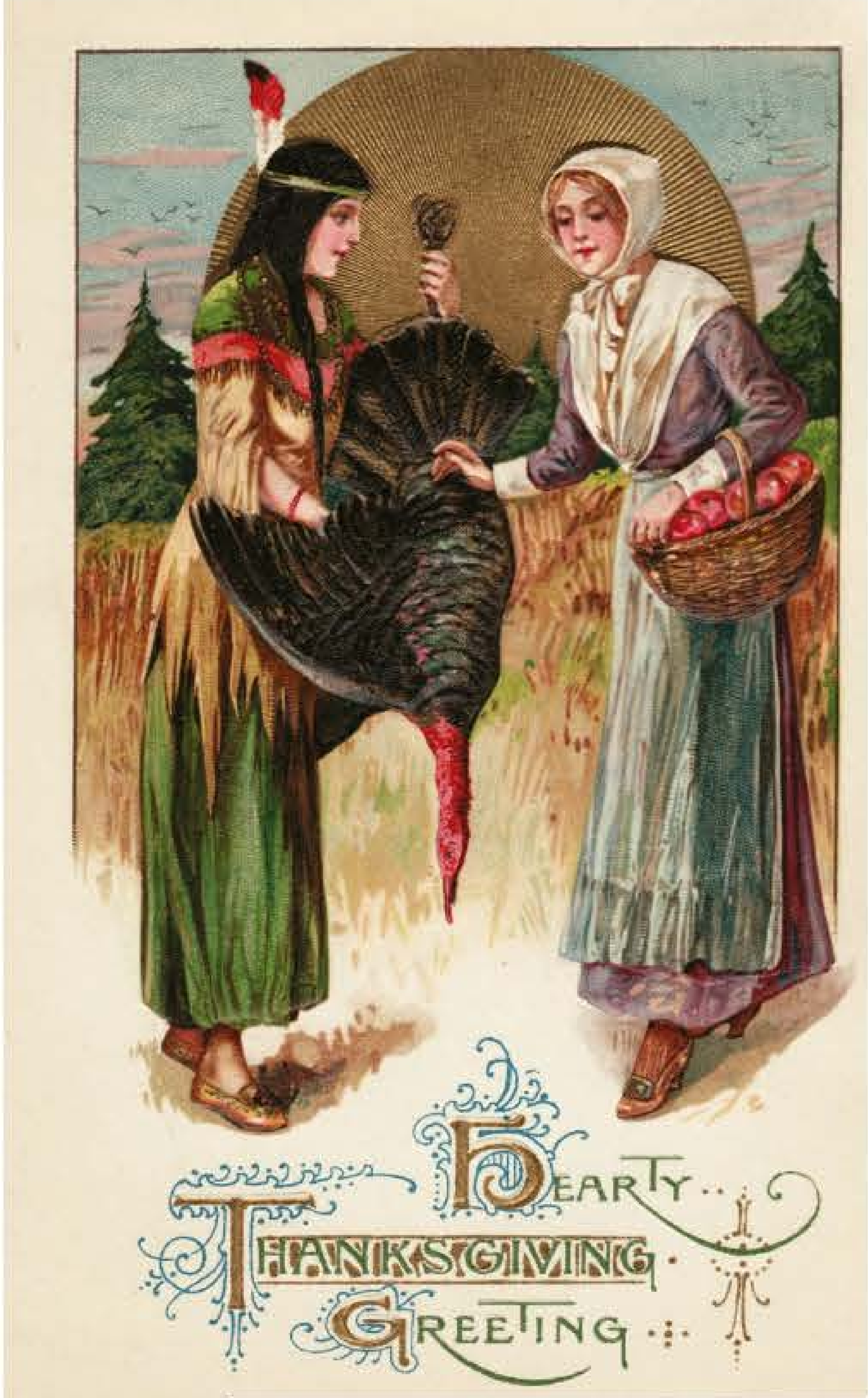
The Wampanoag also helped the Pilgrims to build, using the vast supply of sturdy, woody trees that surrounded them. By October of 1621, they had constructed four houses and four common buildings, enough to shelter the Pilgrims from the bitter cold.

Come the harvest, the Pilgrims had plenty to eat. Back home in England, harvest festivals had been a tradition for millennia. Rural labourers and their families would get together to celebrate a bountiful year's harvest. Music would be played, and there would be dancing and game-playing, all accompanied by copious amounts of drinking.

Even though they were worlds apart from their old home, 1621 was to be no different. The 50 or so Pilgrims who had survived the first winter threw their annual bash. It got off to a good start when a few of them went out 'fowling', which meant they hunted geese and duck.

But when almost 100 Wampanoag (led by Massasoit) turned up at Plymouth's gate, no one was really sure what to do. It seemed to be quite a threatening action, so the Pilgrims fired warning shots as a display of force. However, it quickly became apparent that the Wampanoag had come in peace, so they were invited to join in the festivities.

While the Pilgrims had plenty of food, the Wampanoag hunted for more. They killed five deer,



Despite postcards such as this, few women were visible at the feast

Though it's traditional for the president to pardon a turkey each year, we don't know if any turkeys died for the 1621 feast

What was on the menu?

Traditional Thanksgiving delicacies

Despite popular opinion, there is little evidence that turkey was consumed at the 1621 feast. Instead, there was a variety of meat on offer – venison, pigeons, swans, ducks, geese, plus fish, shellfish and eels all found their way onto the table. Smaller birds would have been spit-roasted over a fire, in a 17th century version of a rotisserie. Larger ones would have been boiled in a pot, with onions and herbs, in order to make a hearty stew.

Thanks to Wampanoag assistance, the Pilgrims could cook a fair amount of vegetables to accompany their meal. Corn was the most famous, but a range of other profoundly New World things were cultivated, such as squash and many types of beans. If anyone was peckish between courses, they could nibble on nuts and bread made from maize.

Of course, there was beer. But perhaps not as much as is widely assumed – there were only a few gallons to share between about 150 people, so any barrels would have been considerably watered down so there was enough to go around.

While the food on offer in 1621 might not suit modern tastes, it was a real treat at the time. More importantly, there was finally enough for everyone to eat.

which probably would have been cooked over a fire, and eaten al fresco. We cannot be sure what the two groups talked about over dinner, but it has been speculated that there would have been much complaining about the Narragansett, the Wampanoag's main rivals. If so, such conversations would have solidified the bond between the Pilgrims and their new friends.

A settler named Edward Winslow described some of the activities: "We exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us." Presumably this means that their guns were fired, not that they were doing push-ups. However, apparently they did run some races and play games, showing that a little friendly competition could go a long way.

Thanksgiving is often depicted as being a celebration where men, women and children alike took part in the fun. The reality, unfortunately, is fairly different. The majority of folks in attendance at the first Thanksgiving were male, at least on the Pilgrims' side. According to one source, there were only about four English women present, and they were likely to be doing the cooking and cleaning, rather than interacting with the Native Americans. The children of the Pilgrim community also took part in the festivities, but it is difficult to tell whether they played with any Wampanoag children.

Naturally, historians have encountered many problems when trying to study the original Thanksgiving feast. A distinct lack of primary sources from the event means that they are overly reliant on just two contemporary accounts of the feast. One was by Edward Winslow, while the other was written by the governor, William Bradford. Oral accounts by the Wampanoag have been lost to the generations, so we might never know what they made of the entire affair.

Something that is known for certain is that the celebration lasted for three whole days, during which time both parties went out hunting together, because heaven forbid they should run out of food. While the language barrier may have stymied their conversation, the sentiment was powerful – powerful enough to usher in an era of peace, as the feast helped to strengthen the peace treaty they had made in the spring of 1621.

Memories of those three days helped to carry the Pilgrims and the Wampanoag through some rather rough patches in their relationship, but fond feelings were not quite enough to sustain the two groups forever. The peace lasted for 50 years, until the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. 'King Philip' (real name Metacomet) was Massasoit's son, and while he initially maintained his father's relationship with the colonists, it inevitably became impossible when the Pilgrims kept seeking to expand onto Wampanoag land. War eventually broke out between the two, and thousands of Wampanoag died, as well as a few hundred colonists.

In spite of this, Thanksgiving has come to symbolise intercultural peace and harmony. The gathering together of family and friends, under a backdrop of falling leaves and chilly weather, has become a beloved holiday all over North America. Canada has its own Thanksgiving, which is held earlier than the American celebration, but retains many similar traditions. In recent years, Thanksgiving has even become appreciated in other parts of the world. For a feast that was held almost 400 years ago between two fledgling communities, it is remarkable that such a simple, humble event looms so large in today's American society.

Building a life

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Finally settled in the New World, the Pilgrims sought to spread their presence in New England

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The colony needed to grow, but the unexpected arrival of newcomers brought a storm of uncertainty, hardships and disorder

100 The expansion of Plymouth Colony
Between 1621 and 1640, the Plymouth Colony expanded with the founding of numerous settlements and struggled for economic viability

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If the New World settlers thought they had escaped the conflicts of the Old World, they were thoroughly mistaken

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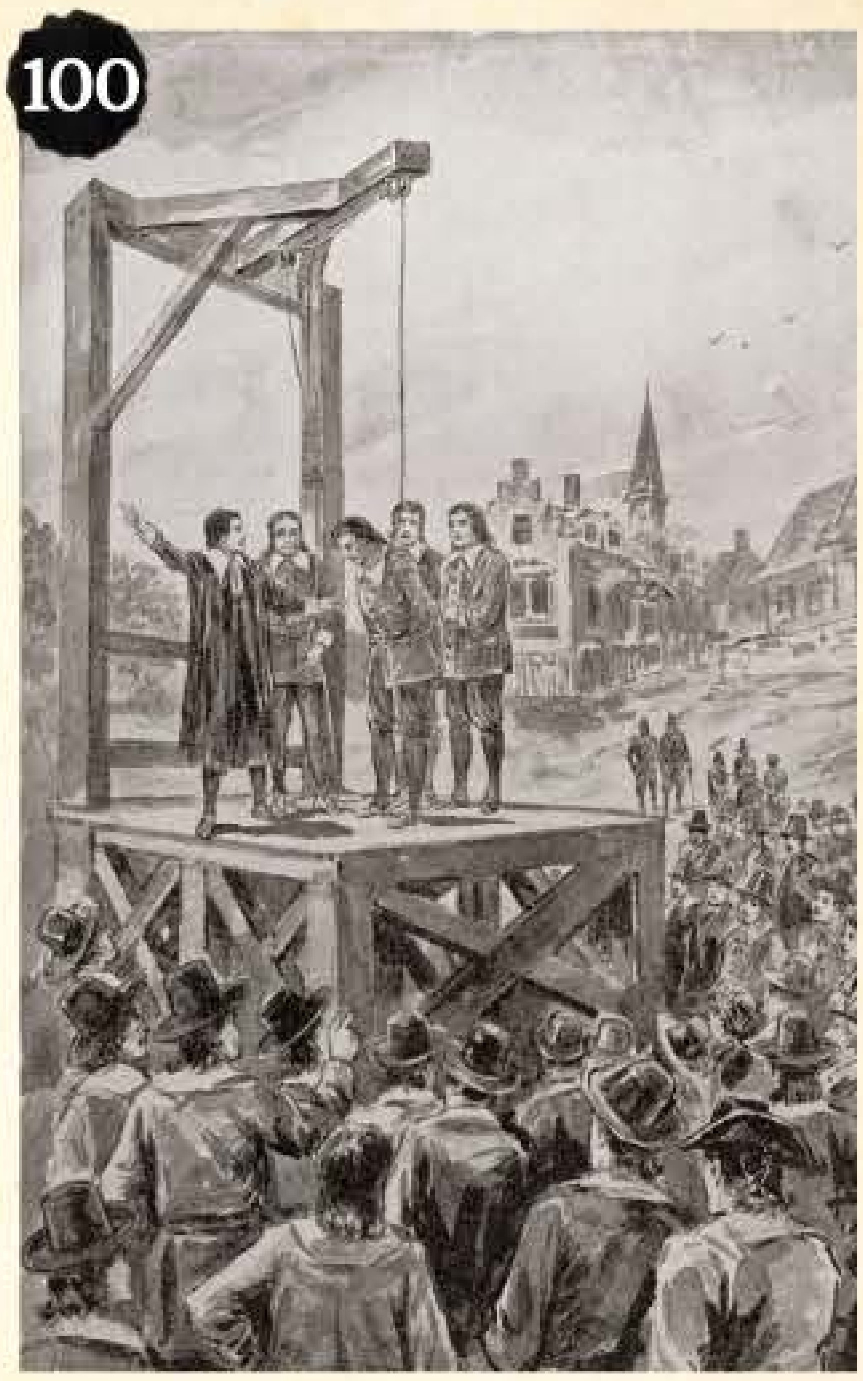

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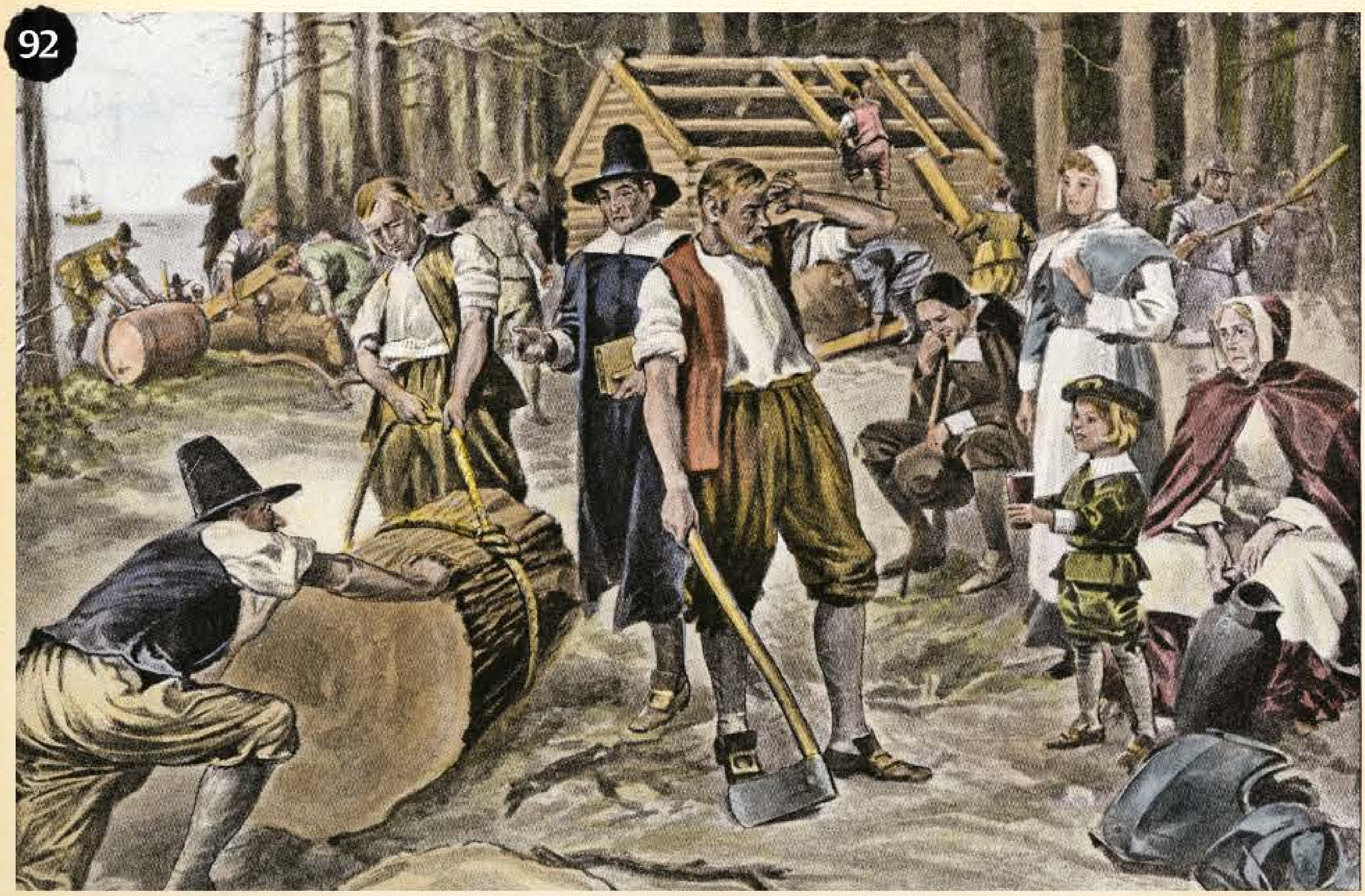

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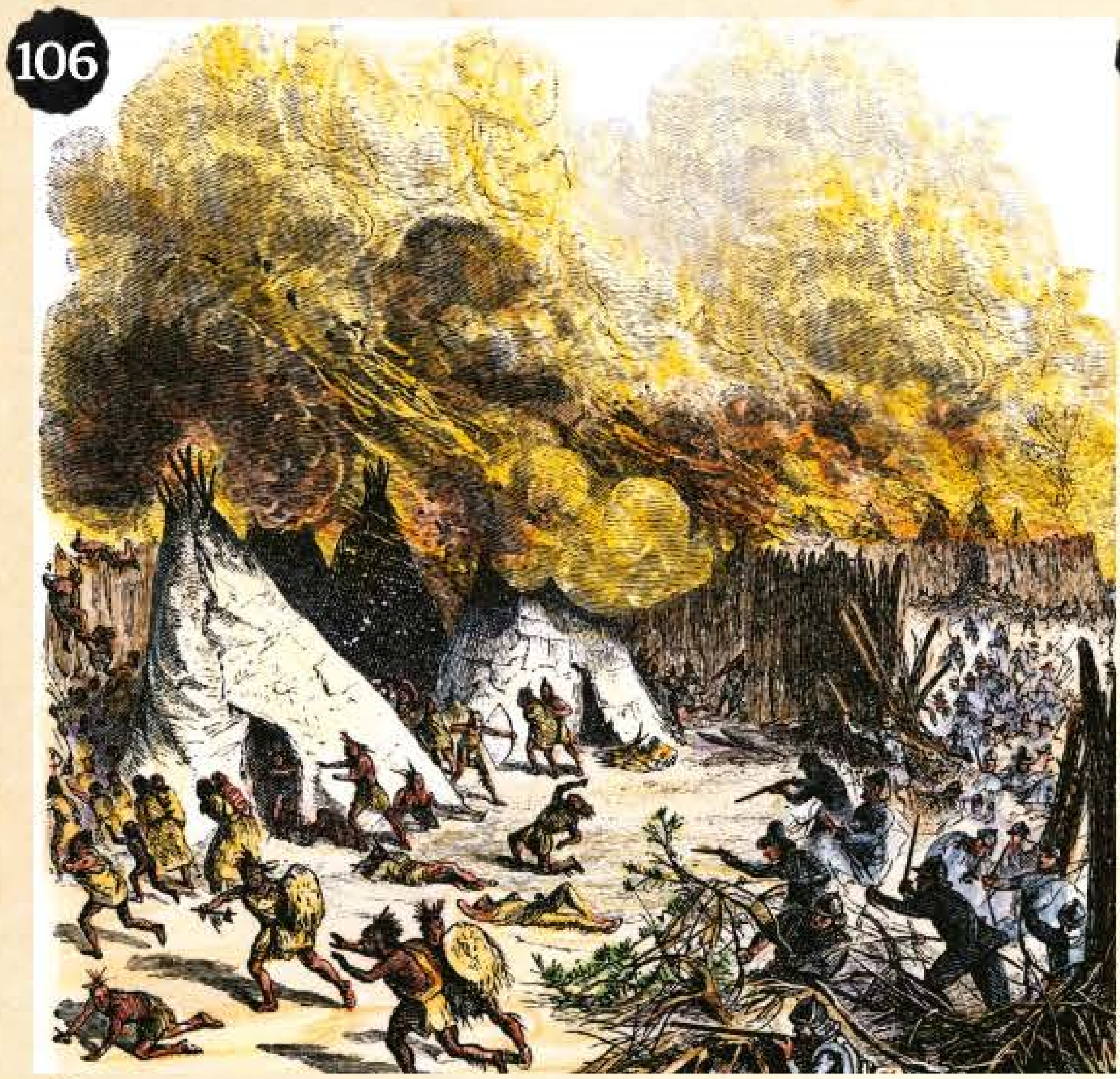

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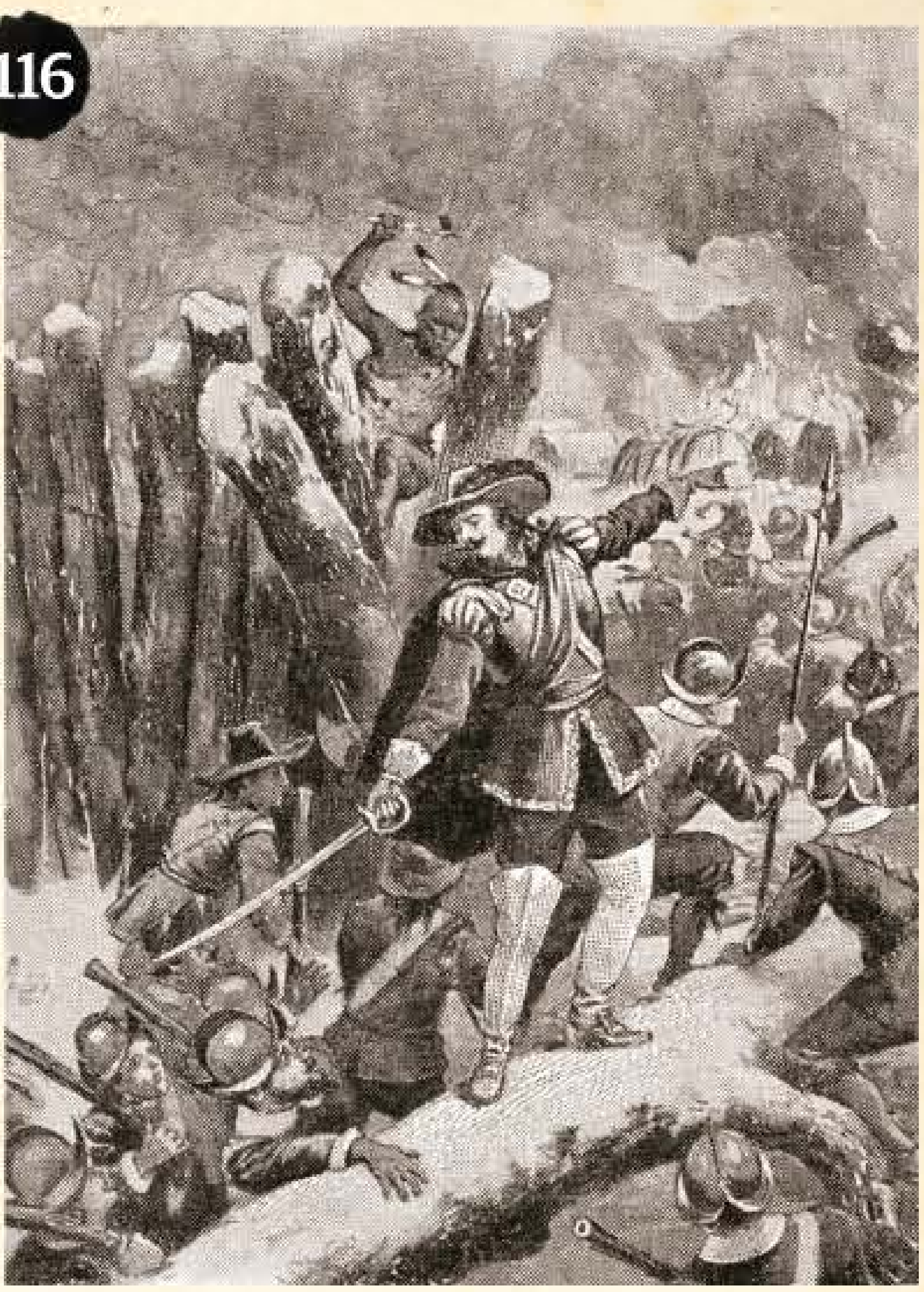

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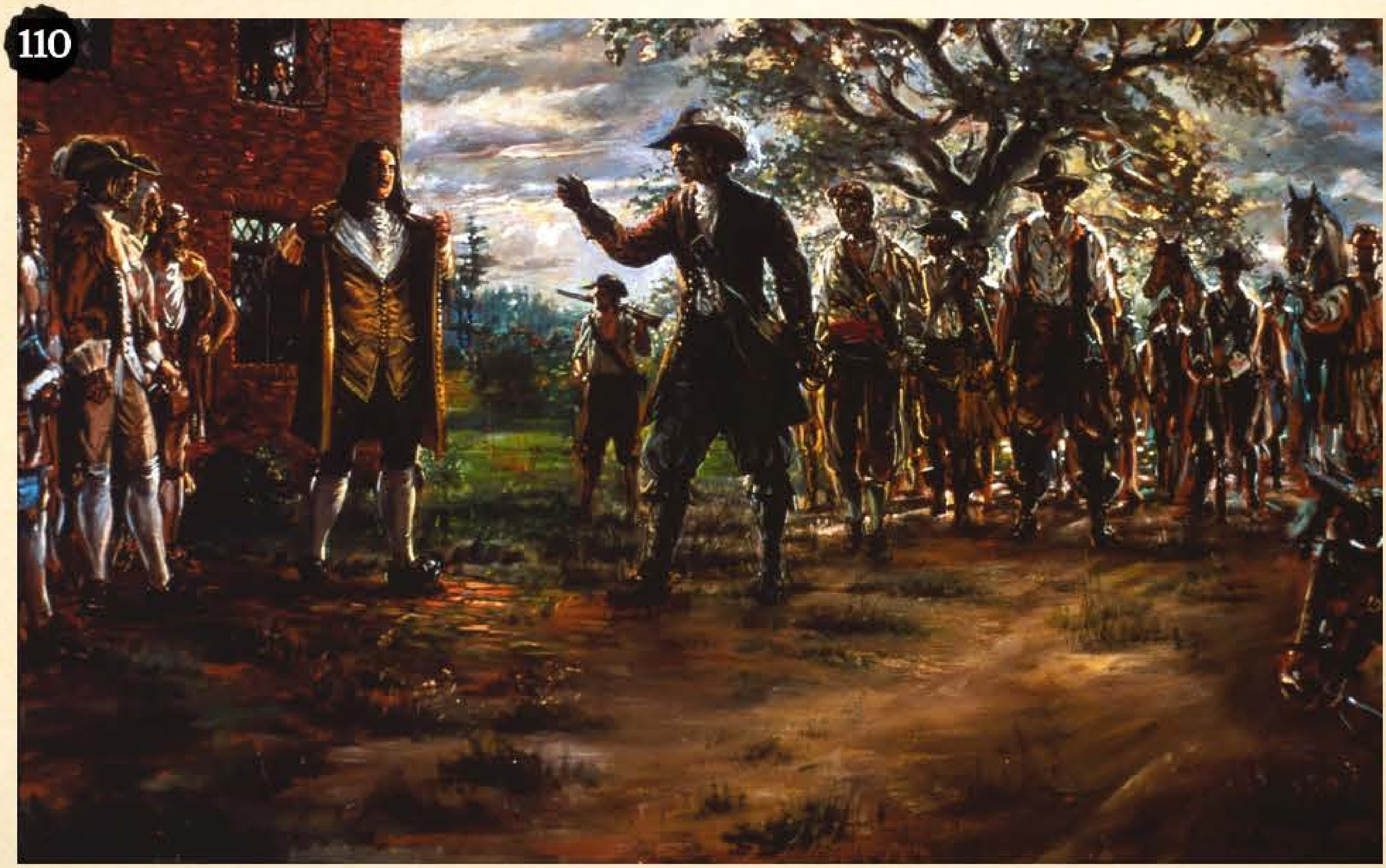


IN AMERICA

Finally settled in the New World, the Pilgrims sought to spread their presence in New England

Aptucxet
Narragansett Bay

4. Different Towns

Salem

In September 1628, a new ship, the Abigail, arrived in North America but instead of Plymouth, John Endecott and his passengers landed at what was then known as Naumkeag. It had been founded two years prior by Roger Conant and his followers from Cape Ann in northern Massachusetts and the name was eventually changed to Salem – the town probably best known for its witch trials in the 1690s.

5. Spreading Out

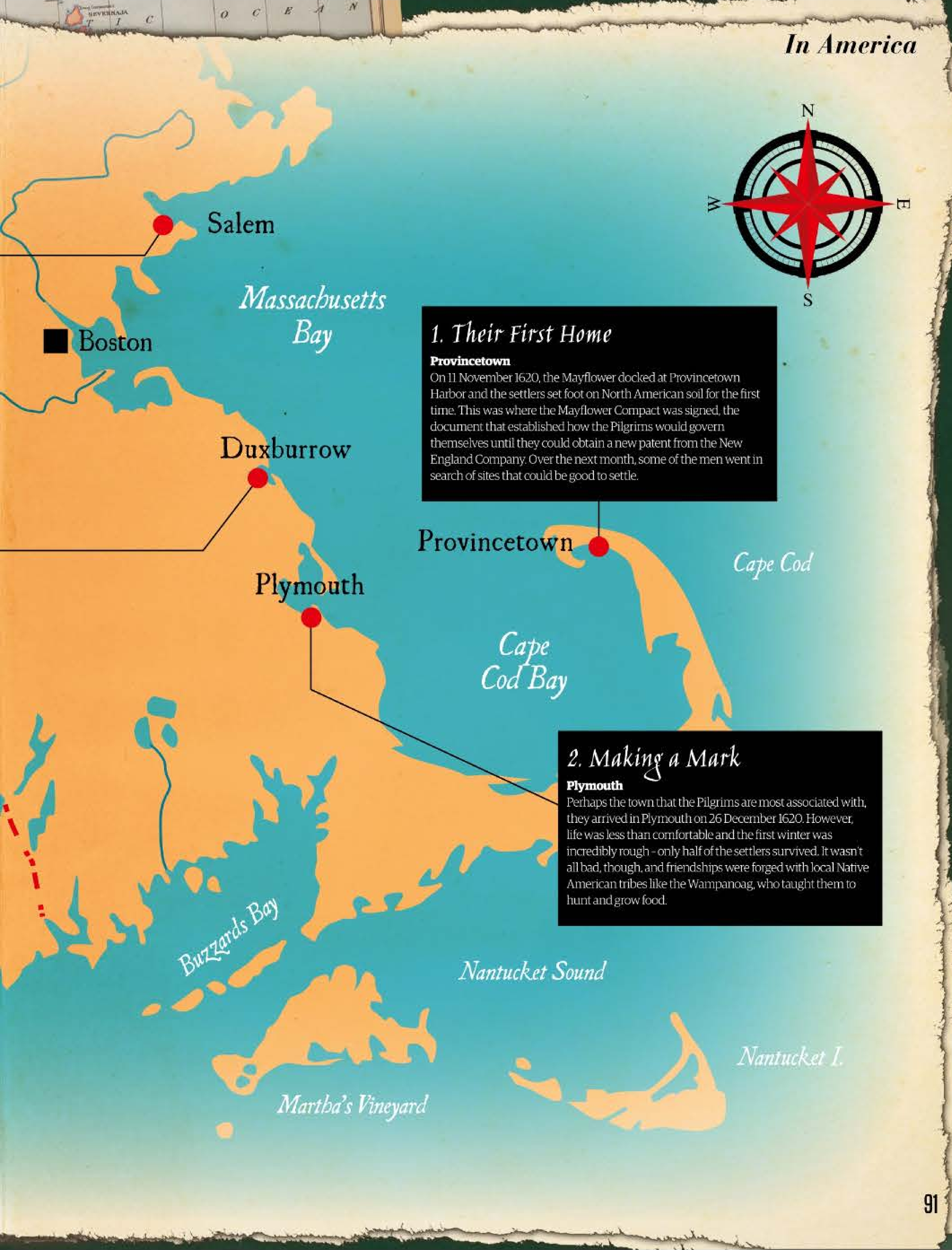
Duxburrow

In 1627, when the settlers had reached the end of their contract with their financial backers in London, they were given a plot of land each and stretched their way along the Massachusetts coastline. Some of these people moved to Duxborrow, now known as Duxbury, where they worked their farms in the warmer months and moved back to Plymouth for the winter. However, soon they demanded to be known as their own community with their own church. It was incorporated in 1637.

3. A New Trading Post

Aptucxet, Cape Cod

The Pilgrims' first trading house was built at Aptucxet on the southwestern side of Cape Cod. The location was chosen thanks to its strategic advantages as it allowed the settlers to trade with Native Americans who lived in both Cape Cod and Narragansett Bay. However, the trading house was slow to turn a profit and so they began to look elsewhere. The trading house was destroyed in a hurricane in 1635 and never rebuilt.


N
W
E
S
Salem
Massachusetts Bay
Boston
Duxburrow
Provincetown
Plymouth
Cape Cod
Cape Cod Bay
Buzzards Bay
Nantucket Sound
Nantucket I.
Martha's Vineyard

1. Their First Home

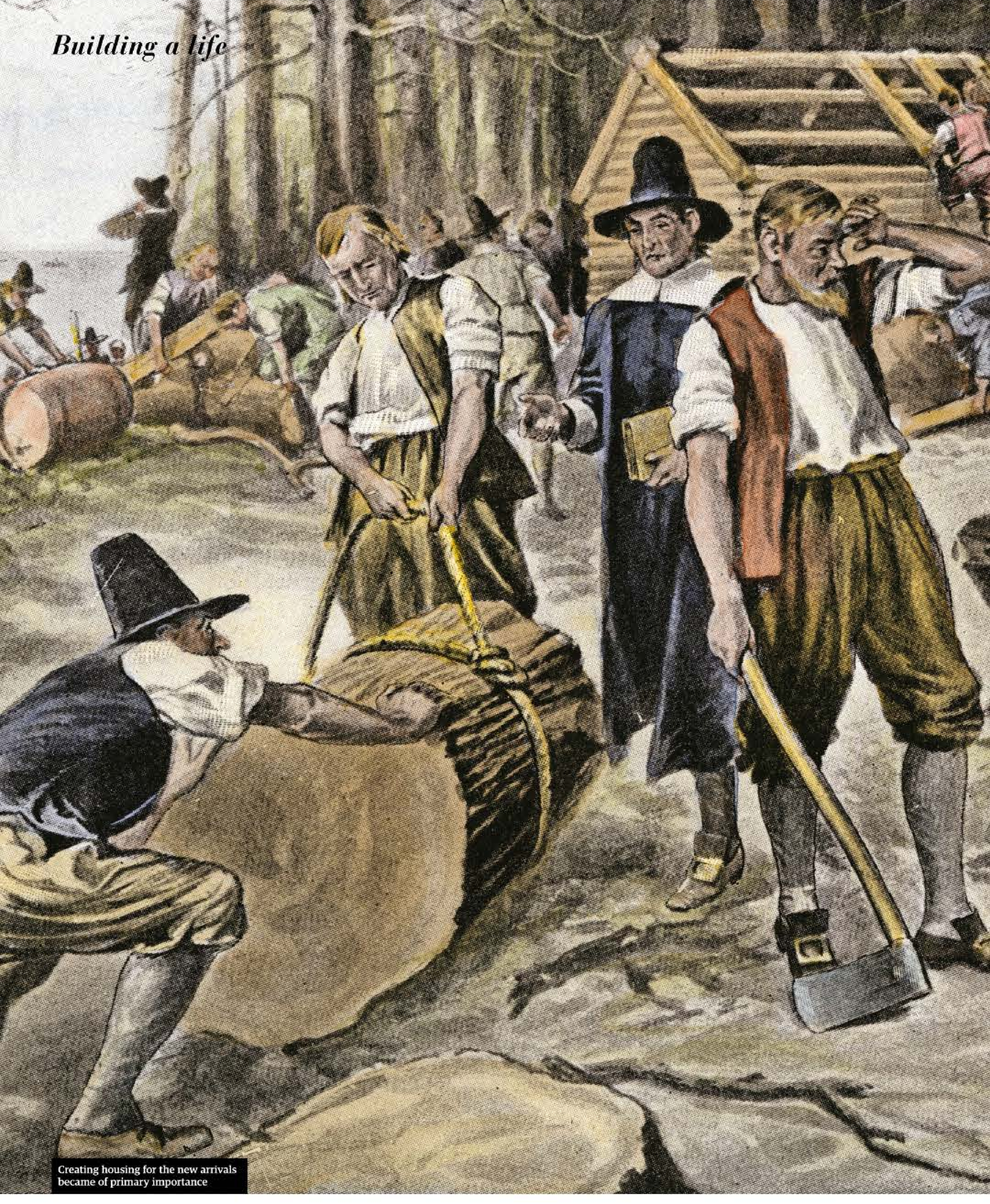
Provincetown

On 11 November 1620, the Mayflower docked at Provincetown Harbor and the settlers set foot on North American soil for the first time. This was where the Mayflower Compact was signed, the document that established how the Pilgrims would govern themselves until they could obtain a new patent from the New England Company. Over the next month, some of the men went in search of sites that could be good to settle.

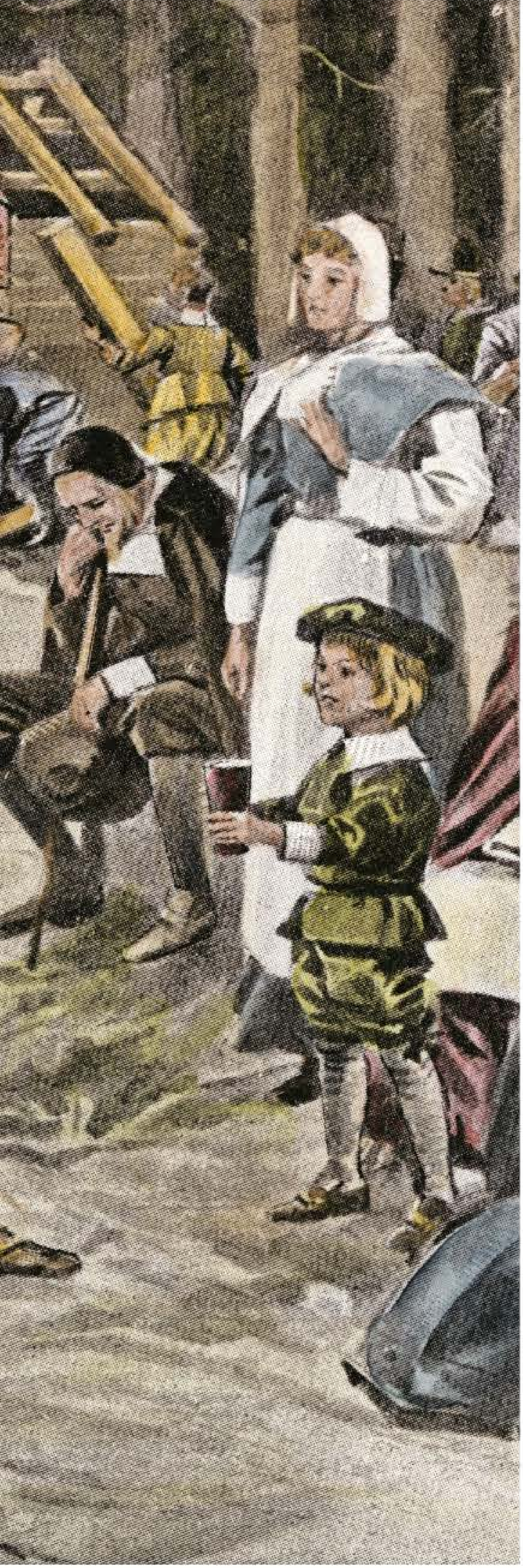
2. Making a Mark

Plymouth

Perhaps the town that the Pilgrims are most associated with, they arrived in Plymouth on 26 December 1620. However, life was less than comfortable and the first winter was incredibly rough – only half of the settlers survived. It wasn't all bad, though, and friendships were forged with local Native American tribes like the Wampanoag, who taught them to hunt and grow food.



Creating housing for the new arrivals became of primary importance



Old Comers

WORDS BY: *Frances White*

The colony needed to grow, but the unexpected arrival of newcomers to Plymouth brought a storm of uncertainty, hardships and disorder

The first year of the Plymouth Colony had certainly not been an easy one. Those who had managed to survive had endured a difficult journey, a hellish winter, tense encounters with the locals and a severe lack of resources. They had managed to survive, but it had not been easy. With the second winter swiftly approaching and with heavy memories of the cost of the last one, the men and women of the colony were in desperate need of help and resources. However, what arrived on the shore in the November of 1621 was anything but expected.

The colony was surprised and unprepared when Fortune, a much smaller ship than the Mayflower, arrived on their shore. The Pilgrim Fathers had received no warning that another vessel was due to arrive so the appearance of Fortune likely filled them with mild optimism and trepidation. They urgently needed resources, and more hands were always appreciated. However, to the colonists' disappointment the ship carried very few supplies. Instead they had many more mouths to feed and bodies to house in their already strained colony.

Thirty five new settlers arrived on Fortune. Luckily, most of them were young men who could quickly be put to work. Many of them were known to the colonists, which likely helped from keeping the welcome too hostile, but the situation was anything but ideal. Led by Robert Cushman, the Leyden agent in London for the Mayflower, most of the passengers were from London but three were from Holland. As far as historical records can tell us, only one of the passengers was a woman - Mrs Martha Ford, who gave birth to a son soon after her arrival. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, many of the passengers were not seeking freedom from religious persecution, and were actually not religious at all. With the arrival of the Fortune, single men now greatly outnumbered the eligible females of the colony - Plymouth now had 66 eligible men and only 16 women. However, many of these new settlers went on to become notable figures for the colony and American history, including Philip Delano, whose descendant was no other than President Franklin D Roosevelt.

The arrival of Fortune could have actually gone much worse. Initially the vessel lingered on the tip of Cape Cod, causing great alarm to the Native Americans who believed it could be a hostile French ship. The colony in turn were so worried about the chance of attack that they loaded the cannon on Burial Hill. The reveal that it was a friendly English boat instead caused much relief - likely enough to mask the disappointment it was not laden down with much needed supplies.

"Upon observing the shabby state of the colony, the crew of the Little James feared they had been fooled"

For the passengers on board, however, the disappointment and worry only increased. Few were prepared for the bleak and barren shoreline they observed from the deck of Fortune as they travelled from Cape Cod to Plymouth. Rather than a land of opportunity and a chance of a new life, the passengers saw a foreboding and desolate landscape.

It was no better when they set foot onshore. Upon seeing the dilapidated and stark conditions the new colonists began to panic. Their worries were so great they actually told the ship's master that they wanted to re-embark and leave. The crew managed to talk them out of such a dramatic action, but it is easy to understand just how panicked the travellers were. William Bradford, the colony governor, recorded the depressing conditions observed by the newcomers: "So they were landed; but there was not as much as biscuit-cake or any other victialls for them neither had they any beding, but some sorry things they had in their cabins, nor pot, nor pan, to dress meate in; nor over many cloathes…" Suffice it to say, neither the colony nor the settlers themselves were pleased with the developments. The Plymouth Colony especially weren't happy that Thomas Weston, who initially financed their endeavour, had sent new settlers without any provisions or goods.

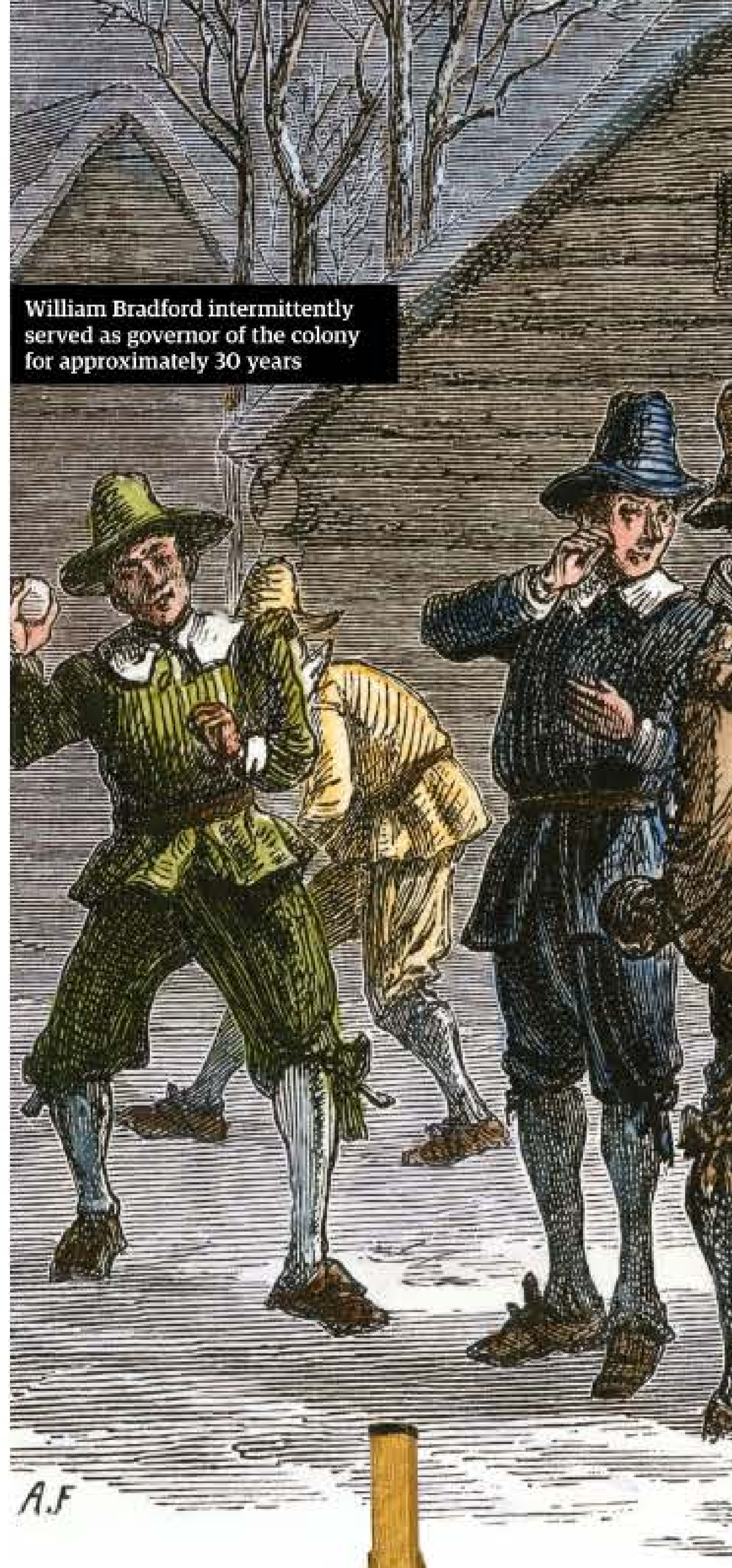
It is unlikely, however, that Weston had the wellbeing of the colonists at the forefront of his mind for Fortune carried an additional piece of cargo: a letter from the Merchant Adventurers. The organisation was furious that the colony had not sent goods back with the Mayflower - goods that had been promised after the Merchant Adventurers financially supported their venture. To keep the organisation on side, Fortune was laden with £500 worth of goods when it was sent back to England, which was enough to keep the colonists on track with their repayment of the debt they owed. However, like almost everything for the Plymouth Colony, this was ill-fated. Fortune was captured on its return journey by the French. When the ship finally made it back to England it carried none of its cargo and the colony's debt grew.

However, the colonists had more pressing concerns than the repayment of their debt. The second winter was coming and they needed to deal with this influx of new people. As they were unprepared for the arrival, there was no accommodation available for the newcomers in the little colony. Bradford had no choice but to make do with what he had, dividing the passengers among the seven houses they already had and even putting some of them into the public buildings, many of which became dormitories for the young men.

The temporary living conditions were nothing short of uncomfortable, but it was the shortage of food that was most critical. Bradford worked out that even by cutting their already strained daily rations by half, their store of corn would only keep them fed for six months. The Pilgrims had already experienced a very severe winter and had worked tirelessly all year to make the next one easier, but now they were almost back to square one. The newcomers, for all their unfortunate timing, quickly agreed to the half allowance of rations, and everyone waited patiently in hope of the arrival of future supplies.

Weston, despite the disappointment of Fortune, had not given up entirely on his investment in the Plymouth Colony. So in the summer of 1623, two more ships began the arduous three-month journey from London to Plymouth. The 140-ton supply ship Anne arrived first, carrying mostly passengers on 10 July 1623. The smaller 44-ton pinnace Little James arrived a week or so later, carrying much-needed cargo. Between them, the two ships carried 96 new settlers - a significant number for the Plymouth Colony. Some of these passengers were from Leyden in Holland, including William Bradford's future wife Alice, as well as Patience and Fear, William and Mary Brewster's daughters.

Although it did carry a large number of passengers, Anne and its crew did not intend to stay for long. The ship planned to return to cargo shipping, and almost immediately the crew began to load it full of timber, beaver skins and whatever else they could



William Bradford intermittently served as governor of the colony for approximately 30 years

The conditions the newcomers had to travel in were very cramped and uncomfortable

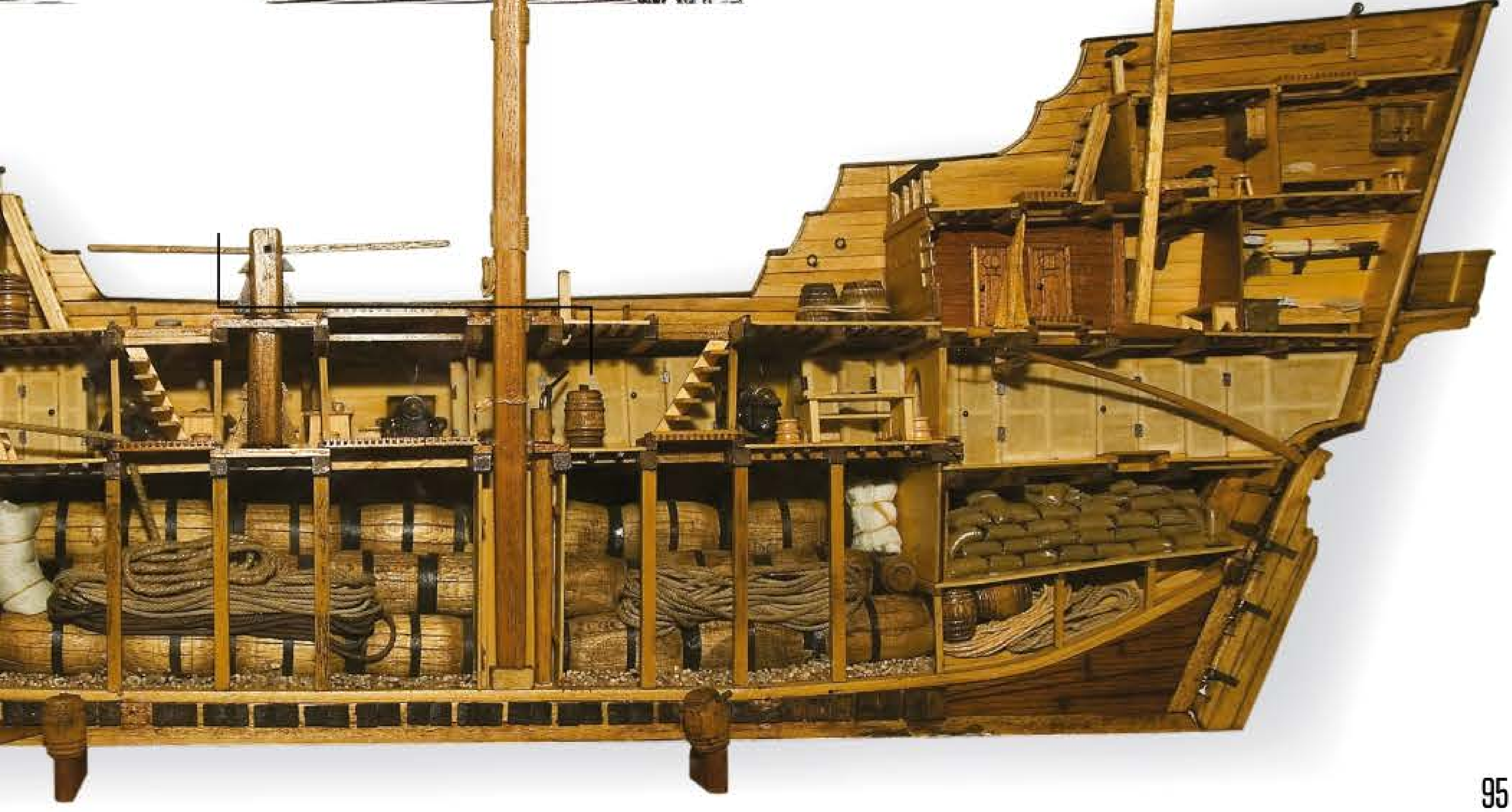
This replica of the trading post can be viewed today at the Aptucxet Trading Post

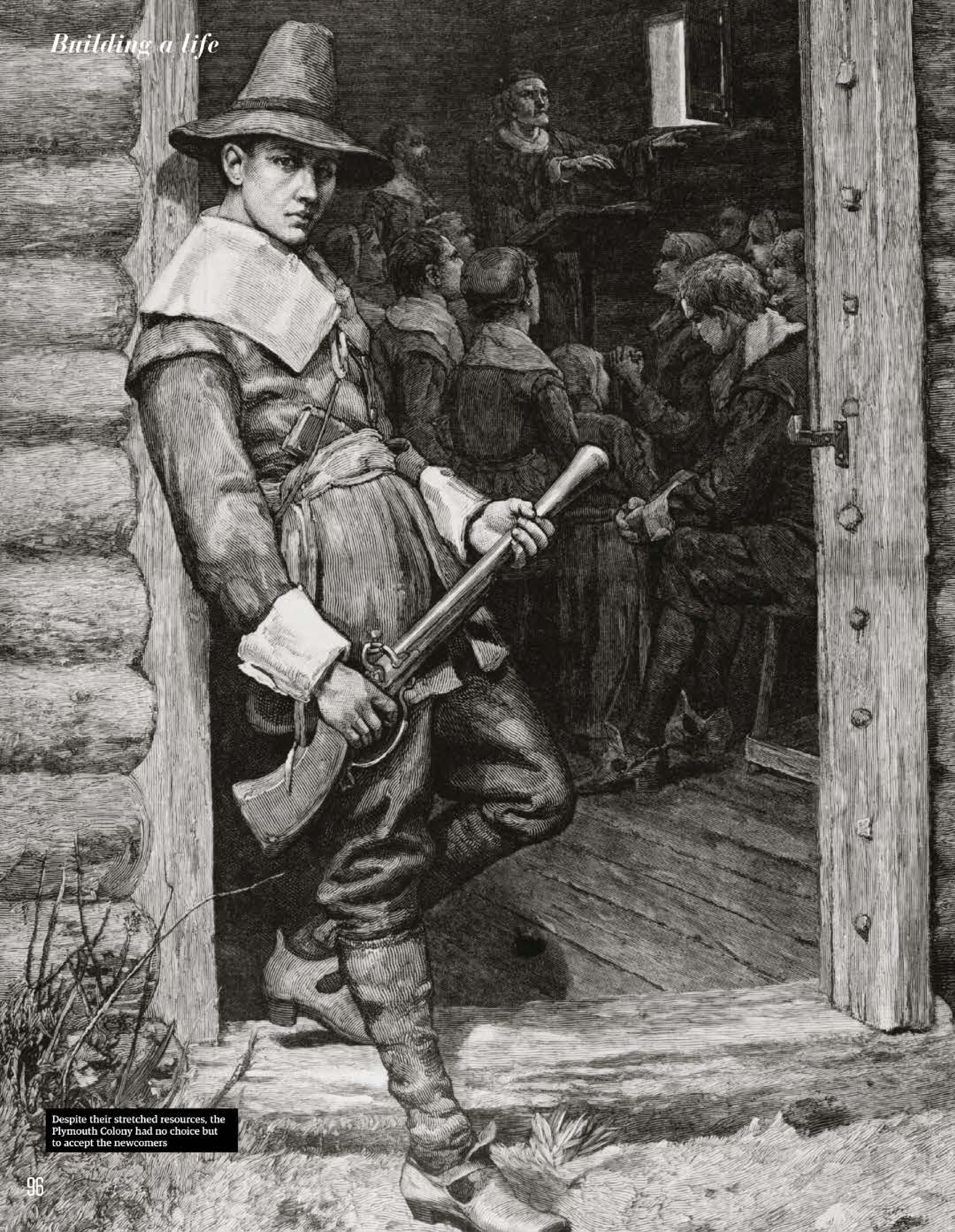
The first trading post

Finding resources in the New World

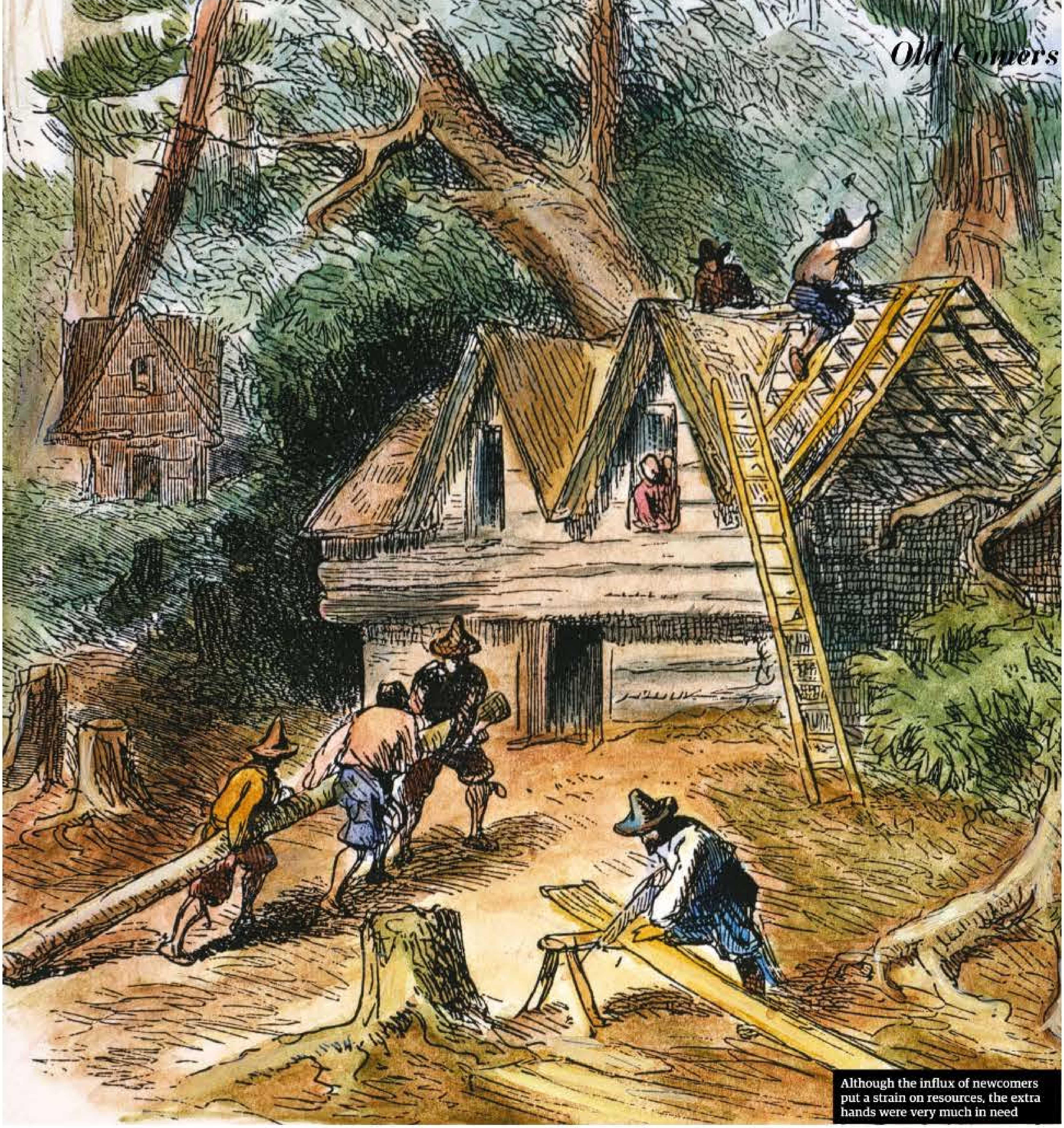
The Plymouth Colony knew the importance of trade and that the lack of it was slowing down their development. However, in 1627, seven years after the colony was first established, the Aptucxet trading post was built. Approximately 20 miles south of Plymouth, the post was based on the Manamet River on upper Cape Cod.

This time, they wanted to establish something more permanent to encourage frequent trade with the Wampanoag Indians - a fur trade to repay the debts they owed the Adventurers. The beans and corn supplied by the Natives were also important resources for the colonists. The trading post was so vital that it was staffed and maintained all year round by colonists. The success of the trading post encouraged the Dutch colonists based in New Amsterdam (modern-day New York) to also trade with the Pilgrims. As the colony grew, so did their trading aspirations, and the Aptucxet trading post was followed in 1633 by the Mettenque trading post, based in Windsor Locks, Connecticut, and also the Cushnoc Trading Post in Maine.





Despite their stretched resources, the Plymouth Colony had no choice but to accept the newcomers

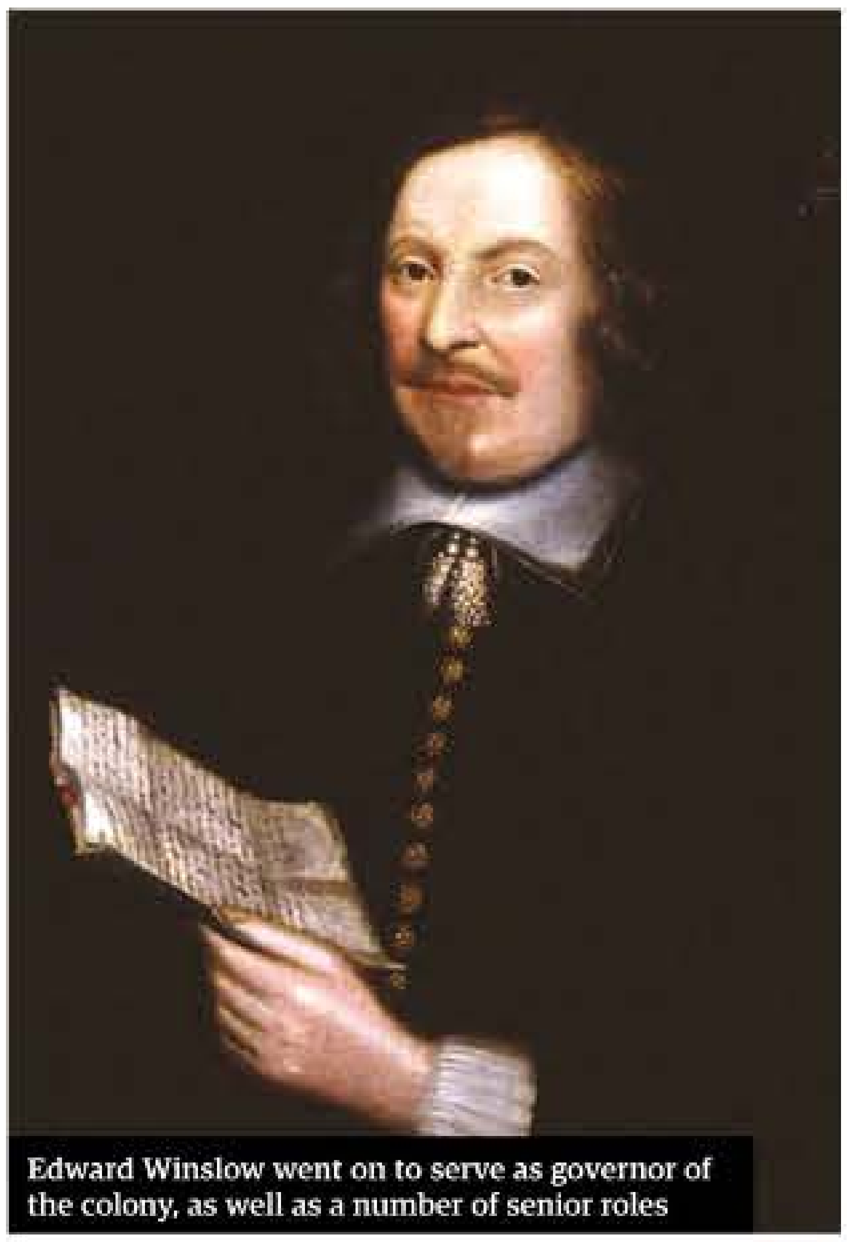


Although the influx of newcomers put a strain on resources, the extra hands were very much in need

> "Little James sat in Plymouth Harbor for the winter of 1623 in near freezing conditions, with the crew barely able to survive on small rations and no alcohol"

find. In a matter of days it was sailing back across the Atlantic to England. Little James, however, would remain in the colony to be used for fishing, cargo and military service under the command of its novice captain Emmanuel Altham and Master John Bridges. Brand new from the builder's yard, the vessel was envisioned to be hugely beneficial to the colony, but, as usual, things didn't go exactly as planned. Years later Bradford would comment: "I fear the adventurers did over-pride themselves in her... for she had ill success." Ill success was a very mild way of putting it.

The biggest problem with Little James was that the ship's crew had agreed to spend six years in the colony, but as a form of shareholder instead of wage earners, so they would earn money from sharing the ship's profits from fishing and trading. The investors (the Merchant Adventurers) would pay for all their food, clothing and so forth. However, like many who ventured to this new 'promised land', what they found there was not what they had been sold. Upon observing the shabby state of the colony and the meagre conditions the colonists lived in, the crew feared they had been fooled and that there was little money to be made here. The uproar was so great that William Stephens, a gunner, and Thomas Fell, a carpenter of the ship, encouraged the crew to go on strike, demanding they were paid in the meantime between trades. Bradford worked tirelessly to calm them down for the good of the colony, which he did



Edward Winslow went on to serve as governor of the colony, as well as a number of senior roles

manage, but it came at great personal financial cost, with the leader offering to pay them himself, rather than the Merchant Adventurers.

It was a tense situation. The crew of the Little James believed they had been duped and saw the situation as hopeless, while Bradford and the colony were in desperate need of any help they could get. The Merchant Adventurers believed they could see a return on their investment from the ship trading in furs, but in reality the search for furs turned up almost nothing. The ship didn't have the quality trade goods that the Natives desired in exchange for furs, and the market was dominated by prosperous Dutch traders who could offer a much better price for the Natives. To add to the problems, the ship also got caught in a gale and lost the grip of its anchors. The company had to refit the vessel with a new mast, anchors and rigging. Little James sat in Plymouth Harbor for the winter of 1623 in near freezing conditions, with the crew barely able to survive on small rations and no alcohol - the primary drink at the time. The crew quickly grew more mutinous as their hunger and contempt for the entire journey festered through the cold, dark winter.

By the spring of 1624, while anchored at Pemaquid during a fishing expedition, these tensions finally reached a climax and the entire crew mutinied, threatening to destroy the ship. It was such a severe situation that Captain Altham had to journey back to New Plymouth in a small boat in an effort to find food for his furious crew. Working with the Pilgrim Edward Winslow, they managed to pull together some bread and peas but when they returned they discovered that the boat had been wrecked by a storm, drowning the master and two crewmen.

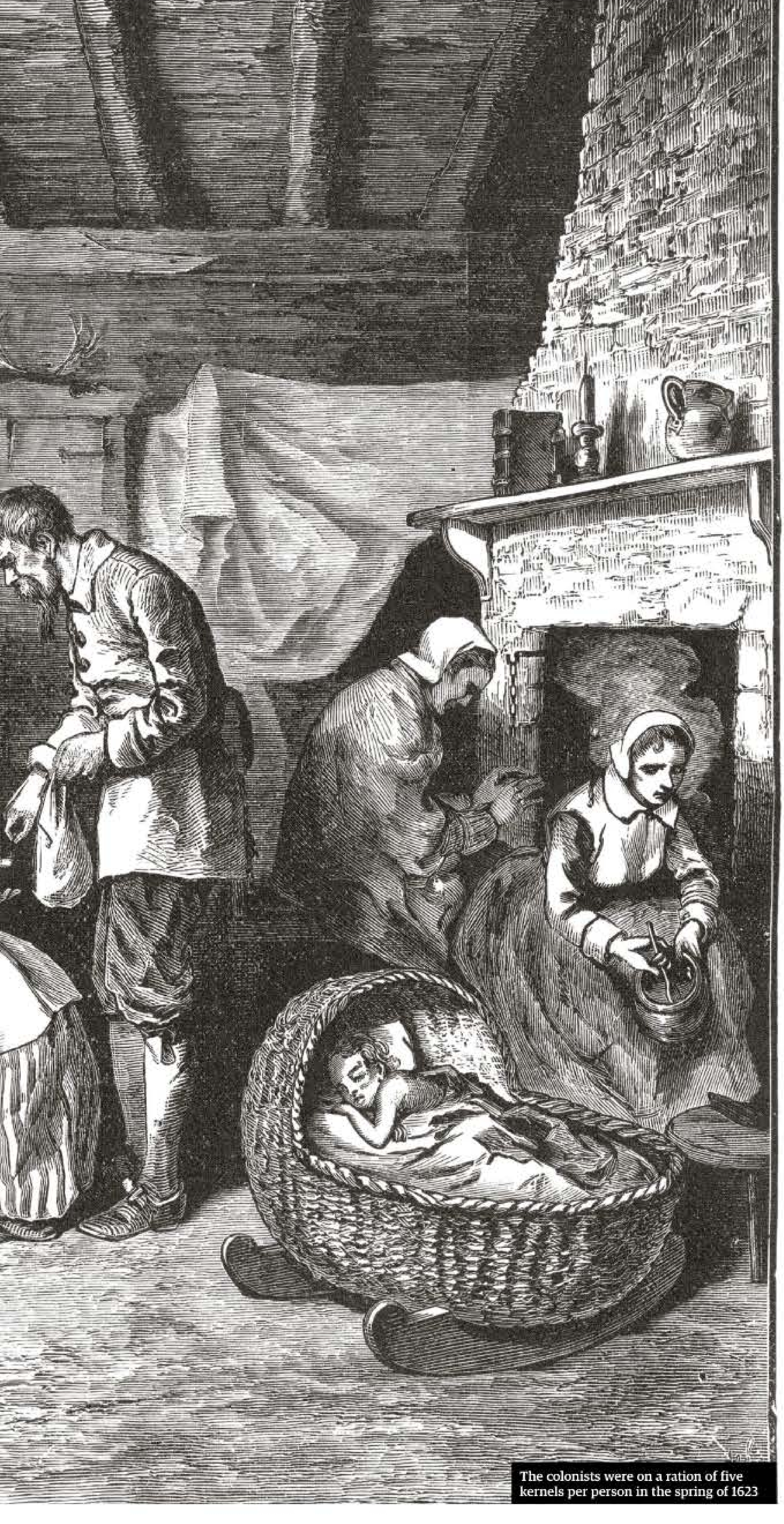
With their own hatred for the entire journey fresh, the crew, led by Fell and Stephens refused to save the ship. However the masters of other vessels in the port offered to help if Bradford paid them in beaver skins. Bradford agreed and they managed to haul the ship to safety. The repairs to Little James came at great expense to the company and by the time it was seaworthy again, the investors and Bradford himself had all become very frustrated with the entire situation. The ship that had been intended to be a great boon to their colony had instead been a costly curse. Eager to be rid of it once and for all, Bradford sent Little James and its mutinous crew back across the ocean to England.

But Little James' bad luck continued - Fell and Stephens abandoned it in the River Thames and sued the Adventurers and the colony for lack of wages, conveniently ignoring the fact that they themselves had mutinied and refused to save the ship. It was eventually seized by the Admiralty Court and by the trading season of 1625 it was seaworthy again. Likely much to Bradford's chagrin, Little James returned to the Plymouth Colony to carry furs back to England to settle the colony's growing debt of £1,300. The cargo was loaded and sent on its way, but Bradford probably should have taken the cursed ship as an ill-omen - while sailing through the English Channel, Little James was seized by pirates and all of its precious cargo was taken.

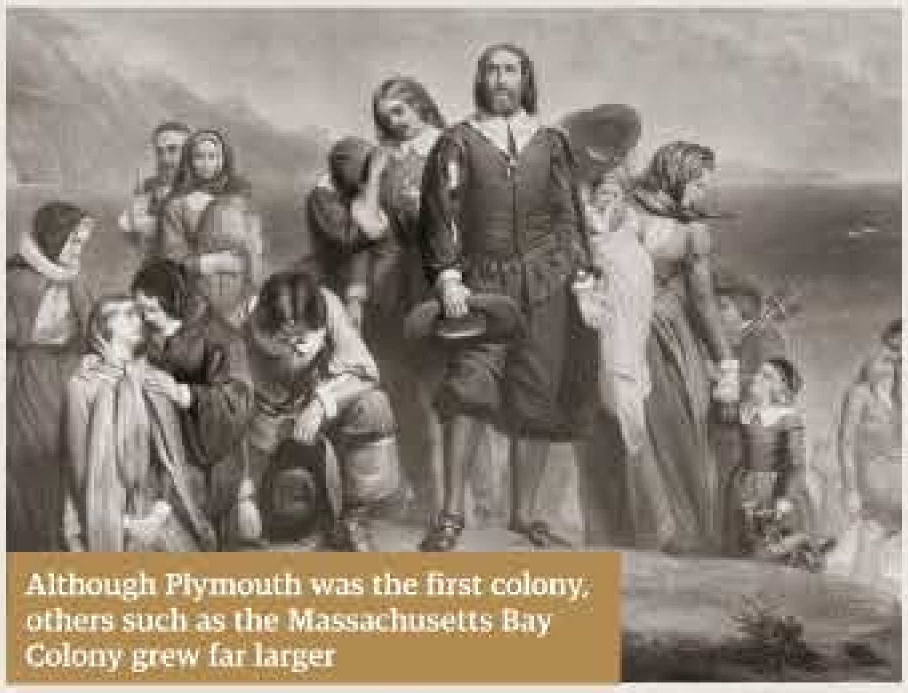
The whole experience with Little James had been an unmitigated disaster. The problem was that the Pilgrims' harvest was actually better than ever, and for once they were experiencing a little prosperity. However, their trade was struggling because of their lack of transport to take goods to England. The chance Little James offered was great, and the disasters that surrounded it hurt the Pilgrims greatly, setting them back years in their development of the colony, especially in regards to trade. The Pilgrims had no choice but to send furs to England in very small quantities, and their much-needed growth in trade was painfully slow.

The results from Anne were also not entirely positive. Lots of the passengers on board the ship were unprepared for the harsh reality of life on the frontier and many of them returned to England within the year. Most of the passengers who remained were unwilling to integrate into the Plymouth Colony - they insisted that the Adventurers' had promised them they would either settle in a new community or "be free from the bonds by which the Plymouth colonists were enslaved". That basically meant they wouldn't be

> "Little James sat in Plymouth Harbour for the winter of 1623 in near freezing conditions, with the crew barely able to survive on small rations and no alcohol"



The colonists were on a ration of five kernels per person in the spring of 1623



Although Plymouth was the first colony, others such as the Massachusetts Bay Colony grew far larger

Growth of a nation

How many more did the ships bring?

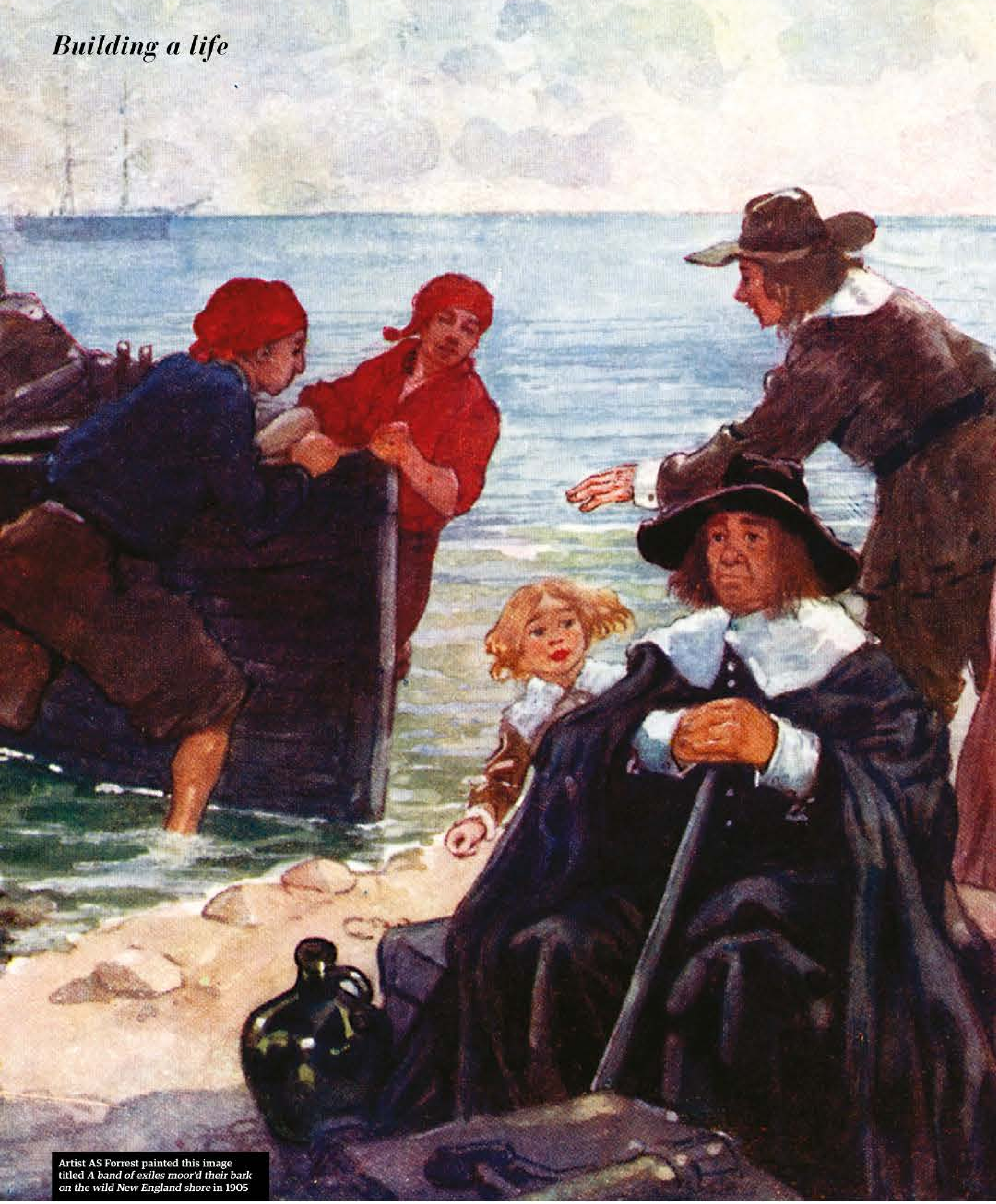
Although trade was important for growth, a steady stream of new settlers was vital for the colony's survival and expansion. As well as the colonists who travelled on Fortune, Little James and Anne, another ship arrived in Plymouth in September 1623 carrying people who wanted to settle in the colony at Weymouth, which had previously been a failure. In March 1624, another boat landed at Plymouth carrying not only settlers, but the colony's first cattle. While the colony did have chickens, hogs and goats before, the three heifers and bull would be vital to its development. In August 1629, another vessel arrived, also named Mayflower, carrying 35 new settlers. From 1629 to 1630, the prospect of moving to the New World must have been less daunting as ships frequently arrived to drop off new settlers. Though it's difficult to ascertain exact figures, the estimated number of colonists by 1630 was 300. This meant that in ten years, the population had almost tripled. From then on it would continue to grow faster and faster as the years passed, with approximately 2,000 by 1643 and a massive 7,000 by 1691.

burdened by the heavy debt the colony owed the company. In order to keep the colonists happy, they were given land near Eel River that was known as Hobs Hole. It later became Wellingsley and is about a mile away from Plymouth Rock.

The usefulness of the new colonists was mixed. Bradford stated that some of them were beneficial people who went on to serve the colony well - including the wives and children of men already there. However, the leader also grew increasingly frustrated by the number of newcomers who were completely unprepared and unfit for the hardship that came with living in a new settlement.

It's clear to see that Bradford wasn't being dramatic as Robert Cushman, a Leyden agent based in London, wrote a letter of apology to Bradford saying, "It greeveth me to see so weake a company sent you, and yet had I not been here they had been weaker." It is clear to see now why so many of the early arrivals to the colony seemed to disappear - they simply couldn't handle the hardship and were sent back to England, deemed unfit for colonial life.

Gaining a new life in America was anything but easy. But through the tribulations, the ill-fate, and even through the deaths, the colony was slowly but surely growing. What would ultimately become the United States would be built on the sheer will and determination of their key resource - people.



Artist AS Forrest painted this image titled *A band of exiles moor'd their bark on the wild New England shore* in 1905

The expansion of Plymouth Colony

WORDS BY: *Mike Haskew*

Between 1621 and 1640, the Plymouth Colony expanded with the founding of numerous settlements and struggled for economic viability

Despite the difficulties of their first winter, the Pilgrims persevered. Life continued literally in the shadow of death. The company was originally divided into 19 households, and each of these was assigned a lot eight feet wide and 50 feet deep. Homes were constructed as labourers were able to work.

To conceal the severity of their losses from the Native Americans who they initially knew little about, the Pilgrims buried their dead during the night, levelling their graves and quickly covering them with corn seed to hide them. Although there was sometimes vocal dissent, Pilgrim leader William Bradford wrote that these objections were overcome "by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the Governor [John Carver] and better part, which clave faithfully together in the main."

When the Mayflower prepared to sail for England in April 1621, the captain offered to transport any person back to the mother country free of charge. Reportedly there were no takers. Such may be interpreted as dread of another passage across the untamed expanse of the Atlantic, the resolution of those Pilgrims who remained to see the enterprise through to success, or a combination of the two.

Succeeding Carver as governor and being re-elected numerous times, William Bradford was the dominating political force in Plymouth Colony for a generation. The governor and the General Court levied taxes and dispensed the law, punishing petty criminals or offenders with fines. The first execution in English North America took place in 1630 when John Billington was found guilty of murder and publicly hanged.

By the autumn of 1621, the 53 Pilgrims who survived the early winter ordeal and nearly 100 Native Americans led by Massasoit, chief of the Pokanoket tribe and principal of the Wampanoag

Nation, celebrated the feast now known as the first Thanksgiving. In November, a second ship, the Fortune, brought 37 new settlers, including former members of the Separatist congregation at Leyden in the Netherlands. However, they brought no provisions and increased the strain on the already tenuous food supply of the colony.

Ships continued to arrive intermittently, augmenting the population of Plymouth. In May 1622, the Sparrow brought seven representatives of the Plymouth Council for New England, successor to the Virginia Company, whose mission was to establish a new settlement. The Sparrow was followed that summer by two more ships with a total of 60 men who ventured north and found a village named Wessagussett, near present-day Weymouth, Massachusetts. The Wessagussett settlement failed primarily due to starvation and the antagonistic relationship of its settlers with the Native Americans. The situation led to a military expedition under Myles Standish against a rumoured threat from hostile Native Americans.

After spending the months of July and August in Plymouth the Wessagussett settlers had moved north, raising the ire of Native Americans in the area. About this time Chief Massasoit had become gravely ill. After he was nursed back to health by a group of Pilgrims, Massasoit warned that a Native American uprising aimed at wiping out the Wessagussett village was brewing. When Governor Bradford received word of the escalating tension, he dispatched Standish and a contingent of Plymouth militia to deal with the threat.

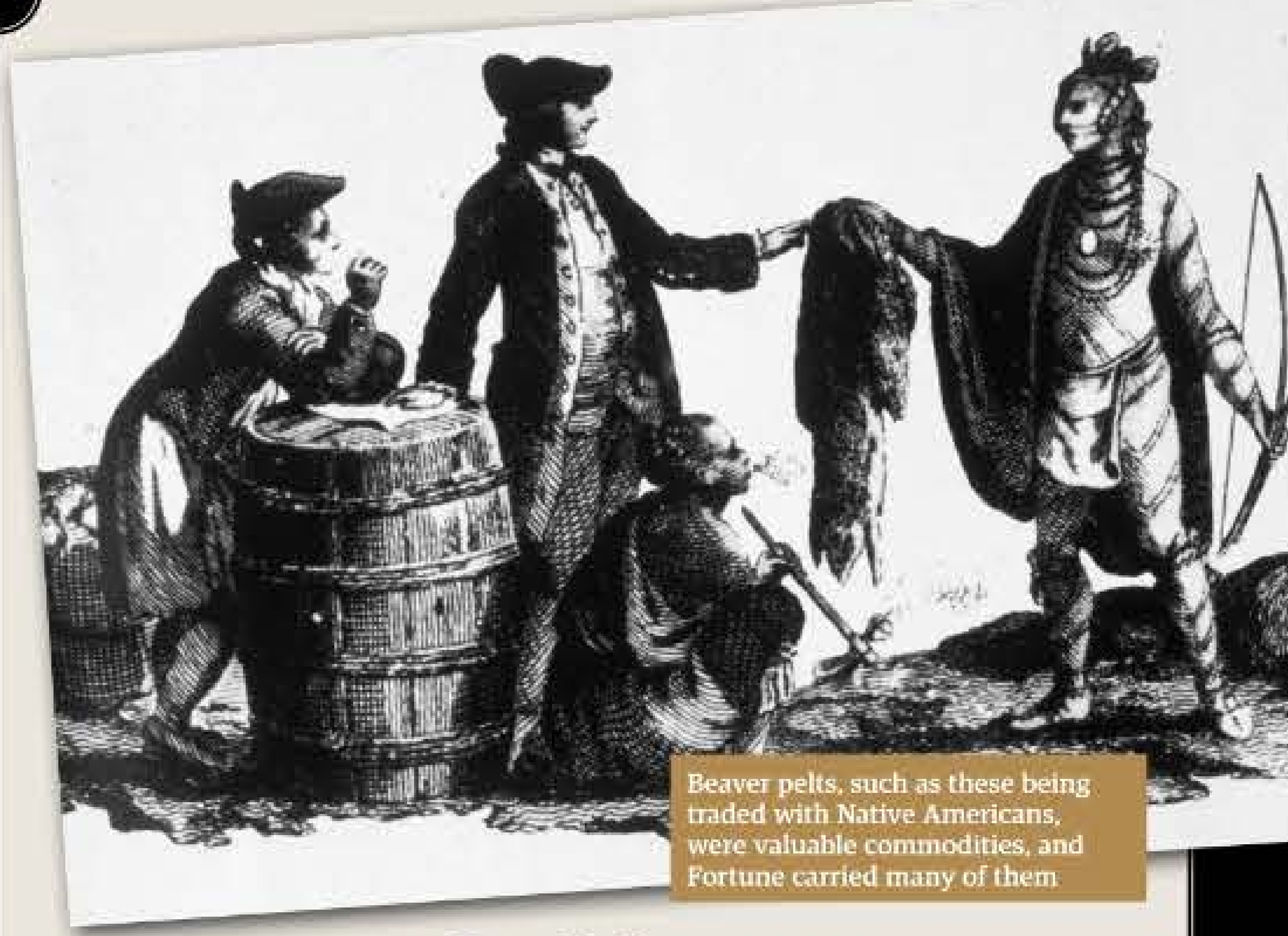
Standish found that no attack had occurred. Nevertheless, he treacherously lured five of the leaders of the belligerent Native Americans into a house with the promise of a meal of pork. Once inside, the men were set upon and two of them were murdered. One of those killed, Wituwamat had been an imposing figure. Physically large, he was said to have previously taunted Standish because the latter was a short man. He had also bragged of murdering French sailors who had survived a shipwreck sometime earlier.

By the time Standish had executed his deceitful assault, ten of the original 60 settlers of Wessagussett had already died of starvation and two had been killed in skirmishes with the Natives. Most of the survivors returned to Plymouth or moved north to Maine, eventually returning to England. Three men were either captured or had lived for a while among Natives of their own volition. These three were murdered in apparent reprisal for the 'Standish Incident'.

These events eroded relations with the Native Americans in the area, disrupted the lucrative fur trade that had brought some promise of economic prosperity to Plymouth, and damaged the colony's prospects for the future. Although the military prowess of the Pilgrims was enhanced in the eyes of the Native Americans, these former economic partners were also frightened and scattered away from trading centres, causing an unintended financial hardship for Plymouth.

The town of Hull was soon established on the Nantasket Peninsula in 1622 originally named Kingston upon Hull. A year earlier Plymouth had built a small trading post to service the area. In July 1623, the ships Anne and Little James brought another 96 settlers to Plymouth. A large number of these passengers belonged to two distinct groups. One had previously struck an agreement with the Virginia Company for passage unencumbered by the indenture of the original Pilgrims to work and

A reconstructed street and dwellings highlight the living history program at Plimoth Plantation near the original site of the colony



Beaver pelts, such as these being traded with Native Americans, were valuable commodities, and Fortune carried many of them

A voyage of misfortune

The Pilgrims' failed attempt to pay their debts

One year after the Mayflower anchored at the future site of Plymouth Colony, the ship Fortune arrived with 37 more settlers. Remaining offshore for only about three weeks, the Fortune was made ready to sail on the return voyage to England and set out on 13 December 1621. Her holds were loaded with £500 worth of goods, including furs, timber and other commodities, for delivery to the Plymouth Council for New England in London in partial payment for the debt that was owed in exchange for the Pilgrims' original passage.

The Fortune's voyage was uneventful until the ship neared its destination. Rather than sailing into the English Channel, a navigation error sent the vessel toward the coastline of hostile France. The Fortune was captured by a French warship and its valuable cargo confiscated. Robert Cushman, who had negotiated the original deal with the Virginia Company for the Pilgrims' passage, was held in a prison on shore while the crew was under guard aboard ship. The French detained the Fortune and her company for 13 days, and the unfortunate ship did not reach London until 17 February 1622. The loss of the valuable cargo was a major setback for the Pilgrims in the repayment of their debt.

"The governor and the General Court levied taxes and dispensed the law, punishing petty criminals with fines"

communally pool their products for shipment to England in payment for their own transport to the open arms of the New World. This group carried a letter from 13 of the Virginia Company's merchant investors, and the request was honoured. They were given land a mile south of Plymouth Rock in an area known as Hobs Hole near the mouth of the Eel River, and the settlement was later called Wellingsley. The second group was an odd collection of individuals that were either unsuitable for the rigours of life in America or that decided within a year of arrival to return to England.

Among those arriving aboard one of the ships at Plymouth, possibly the Anne or the Charity, was Roger Conant, who led a company of fishermen to Cape Ann and founded the town of Salem around 1629. Historians speculate that Conant had perhaps been motivated to leave Plymouth proper with a group of dissenters amid the unfolding of two major events related to the Puritan way of life.

Although he never set foot in North America, John Robinson had long served as spiritual leader of the Separatist Church, putting forth much of the doctrine that the followers embraced and serving as pastor to the congregation in the Netherlands. When word reached Plymouth that Robinson had died, some of his Separatist followers began to question their future prospects. Had the difficult journey and the struggle to survive and thrive produced the resulting religious-centred society they had intended to build?

During this time John Lyford, a minister who supposedly sympathised with the Pilgrim religious perspective, arrived in Plymouth. However, several letters Lyford wrote to leaders of the Church of England were intercepted, and he was confronted as to his true intentions regarding the Separatist cause. Lyford was banished from Plymouth after secretly meeting with colonists who might want to return to the Anglican Church and even leave Plymouth Colony for England. Several of his associates were subjected to harsh punishment and also expelled from the Plymouth Colony.

In the autumn of 1623 another ship arrived with settlers commissioned to revive the already failed colony at Weymouth. In 1629, a ship named Mayflower (not the famous 1620 passage vessel) in company with the Lyon reached Salem, and another 35 settlers made the final leg of their journey to Plymouth over land. In 1630 the Handmaid brought 60 more settlers.

By 1624, the population of the colony had grown to 124, and in 1637 it totalled 549. Over the next 20 years, nine new towns were founded within the colony. However, in 1630 the neighbouring Massachusetts Bay Colony had also been founded under the leadership of Governor John Winthrop. In time, the growth of Plymouth would slow, eclipsed by the influx of settlers to the northern settlements. The first group of 1,000 Puritans who came to the New World with Winthrop under a charter from the Massachusetts Bay Company sought to reform the Protestant movement and the Anglican church itself within the English realm, unlike the Separatists who chose to remove themselves from it, and saw their new colony as a "city on a hill," its seat of government established at Boston.

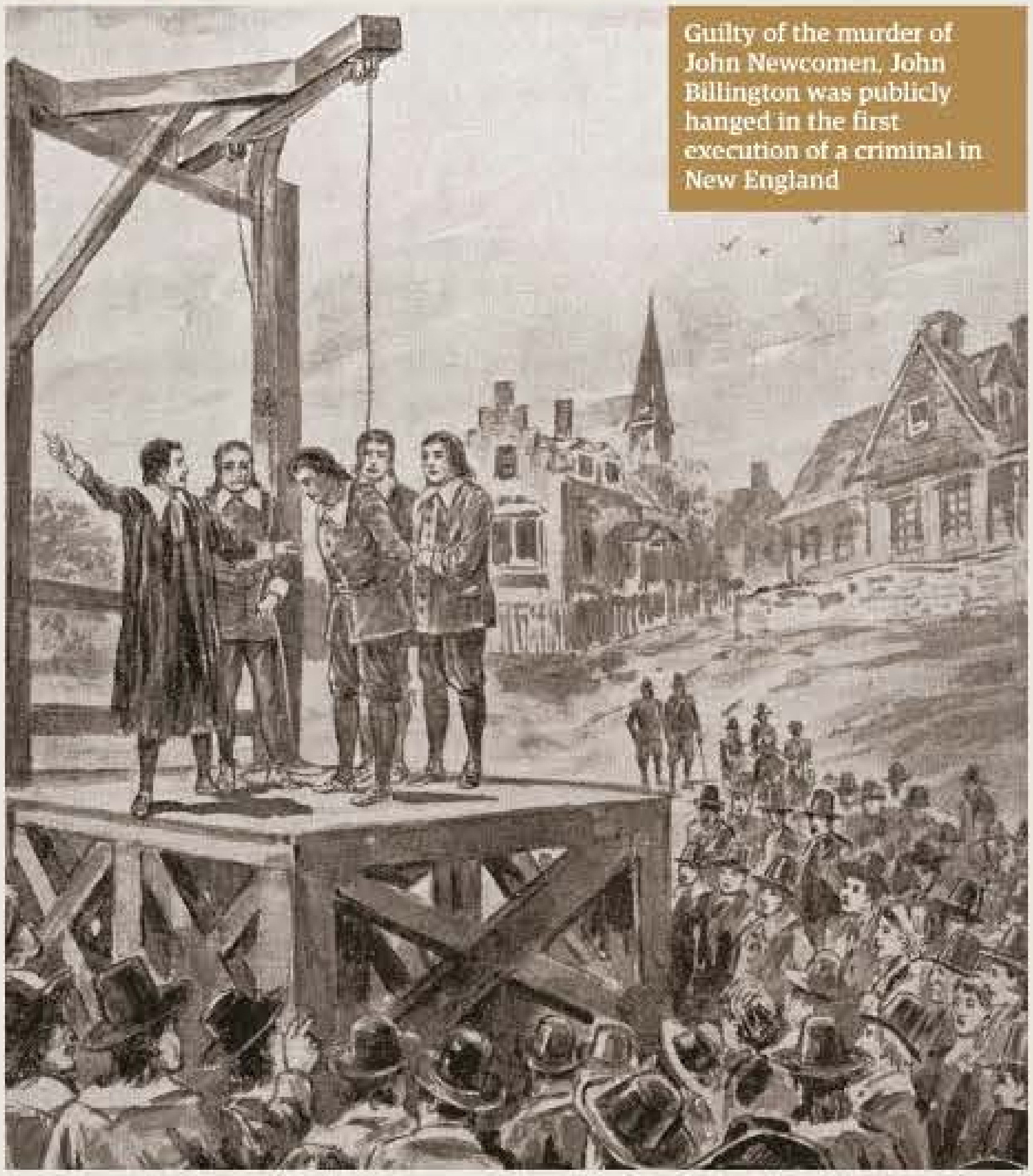
After early efforts to pay their debt to the Plymouth Council for New England through a communal policy that brought all goods under central authority and employed an economic policy of "from each according to his ability; to each according to his need," the communal system was dropped in 1623 due to lack of production. Thereafter, the settlers were given an acre of land and allowed to plant and tend their own fields, trading surplus crops. Production increased, and the prosperity of the colony improved. The following year, Edward Winslow returned to Plymouth from England with a patent to establish a fishing location at Cape Ann and the first cattle in the colony, three heifers and a bull.

In 1625, English lawyer and trader Thomas Morton and his associate Captain Richard Wollaston found themselves unable to remain in Plymouth under strict Puritan religious and legal authority. They founded a settlement called Mount Wollaston on the site of modern Quincy, Massachusetts. Morton and his followers soon took to offending the Puritan authorities with raucous celebrations that included the Maypole festivities and attempted to establish a competing fur trade with the Native Americans. Myles Standish led a force to arrest Morton, and the offender was eventually sent back to England to be tried for illegally trading weapons with Natives. Morton later returned to New England and continued to criticise the Puritan perspective.

At Aptucxet on the western edge of Cape Cod, the Pilgrims established their first trading post in 1626. Trading with the Wampanoag people and the Dutch, they obtained foodstuffs and established a fur trade that was significant in repaying the debt to the Plymouth Council, which was finally extinguished in 1627, allowing the settlers to further expand trade

The trouble with Billingtons

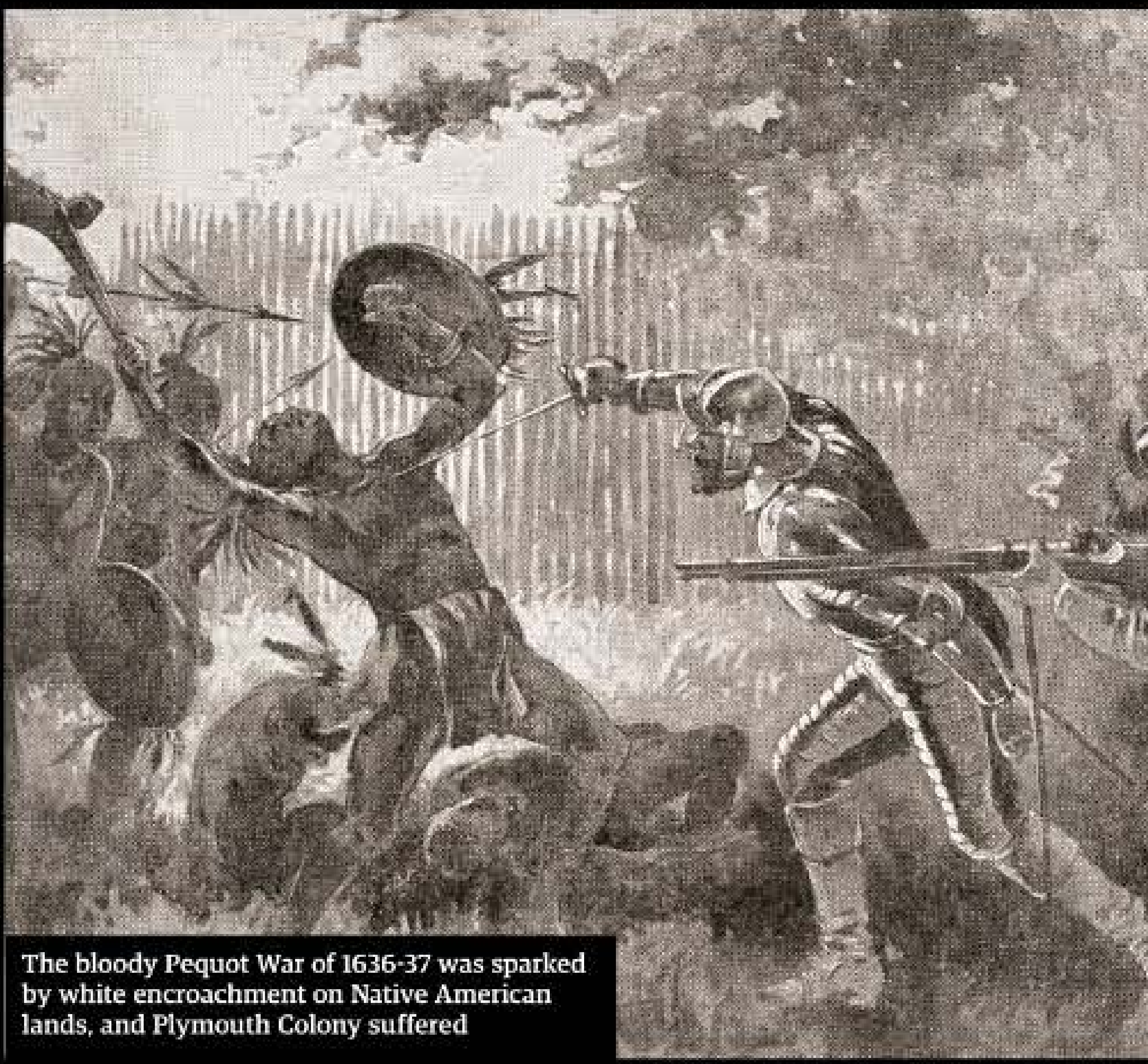
Capital punishment comes to Plymouth



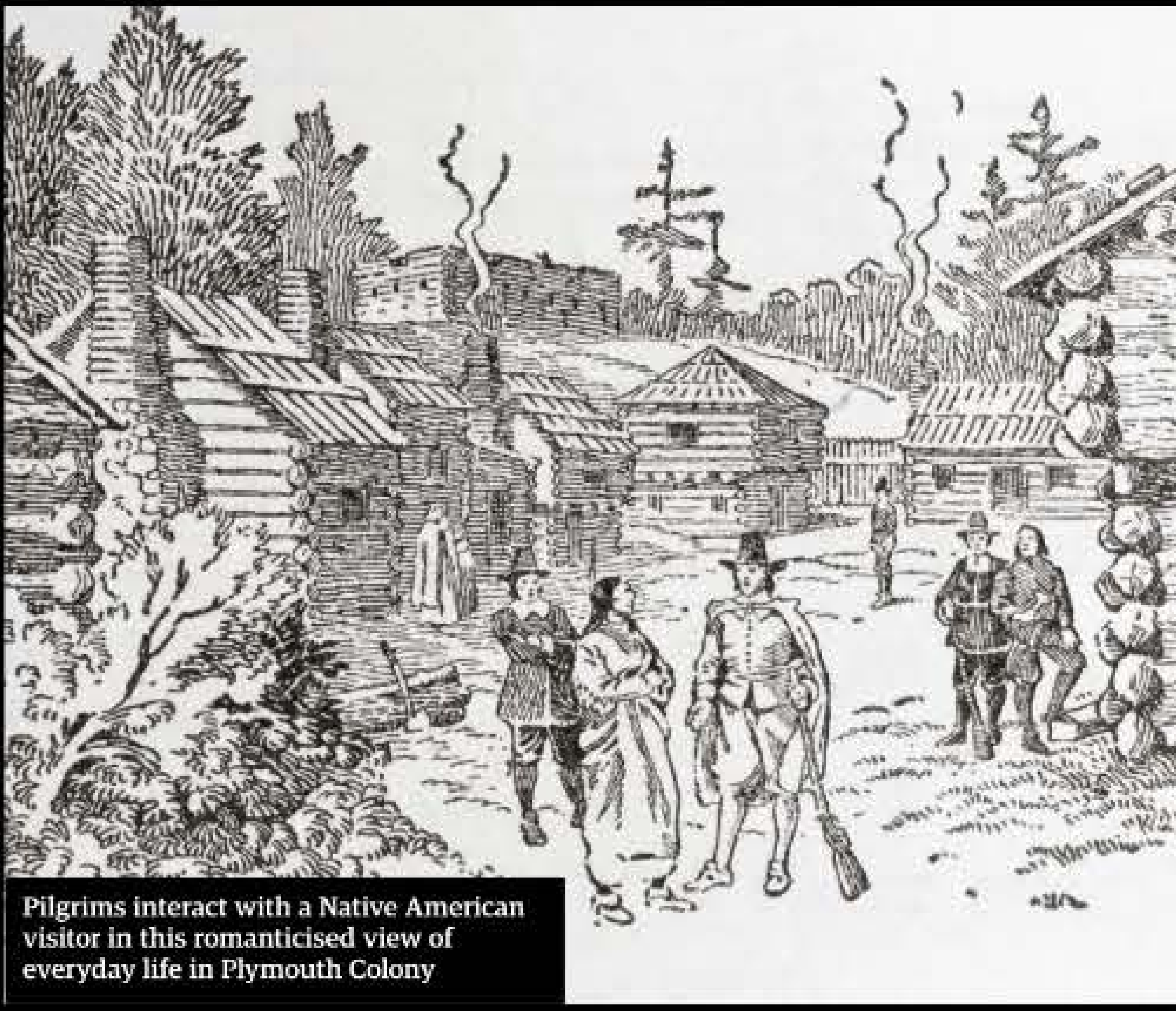
Guilty of the murder of John Newcomen, John Billington was publicly hanged in the first execution of a criminal in New England

John Billington, his wife Elinor, and their two sons, Francis and John Jr, sailed aboard the Mayflower in 1620. The father was a signer of the Mayflower Compact and led, according to William Bradford, "one of the profanest families amongst them..." The Billingtons were a family of agitators, and the trouble began even before the Pilgrims set foot in Massachusetts. Francis made small explosive devices called squibs and discharged a musket while aboard ship.

In March 1621, the father challenged the military authority of Myles Standish, speaking against him numerous times and reportedly being punished for it. Young John became lost in the forest two months later. Found by Native Americans of the Nauset tribe, his release was secured after the Pilgrims agreed to replenish corn they had pilfered from Nauset caches. In 1624, the father was implicated in a church scandal but never punished. The following year he was identified as a slanderer of Robert Cushman, the Pilgrims' agent in London. In 1630, he shot John Newcomen, with whom he had some unidentified dispute. Billington was tried and hanged for the murder. Six years after her husband's death, Elinor was sentenced to sitting in the stocks and a whipping for slandering colonist John Doane.



The bloody Pequot War of 1636-37 was sparked by white encroachment on Native American lands, and Plymouth Colony suffered



Pilgrims interact with a Native American visitor in this romanticised view of everyday life in Plymouth Colony with Native tribes and other European enclaves. In 1628, a second trading post was established on the eastern shore of the Kennebunk River near present-day Augusta, Maine, and the following year a third trading post began operating on the Penobscot River near the site of modern Castine, Maine. Yet another trading location was established at Manianuck on the Connecticut River, the future site of the town of Windsor, Connecticut, in 1633.

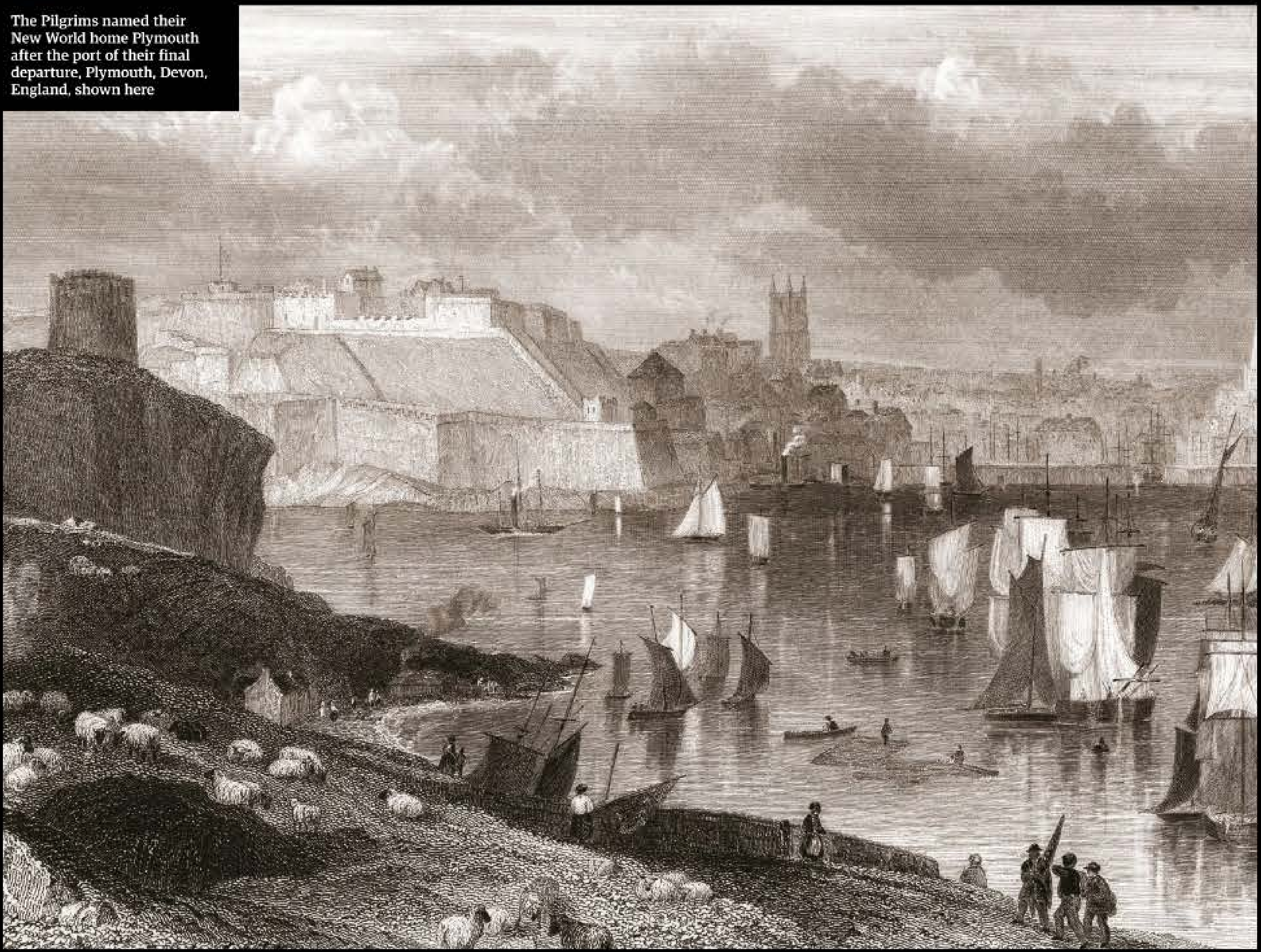
Soon enough, however, the Puritans and settlers of Massachusetts Bay Colony sought to take advantage of the brisk trade opportunities. When Massachusetts Bay established its own trading posts, the rivalry with the Plymouth settlers strained relations. With the coming of the Pequot War in 1636, Plymouth Colony lost nearly all of its once bustling trade centres. Although the leaders of Plymouth decried the aggressive stance that Massachusetts Bay took against the Native Americans, they were compelled to join with Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut in the New England Confederation in 1643 for mutual defence against a growing threat as white encroachment brought more friction.

The economy diversified somewhat with the introduction of lumber and cattle trades, but the English Civil War and related Puritan successes back home slowed the pace of immigration to New England, causing prices to plunge. The colony suffered, particularly in context with the growing wealth and power of Massachusetts Bay.

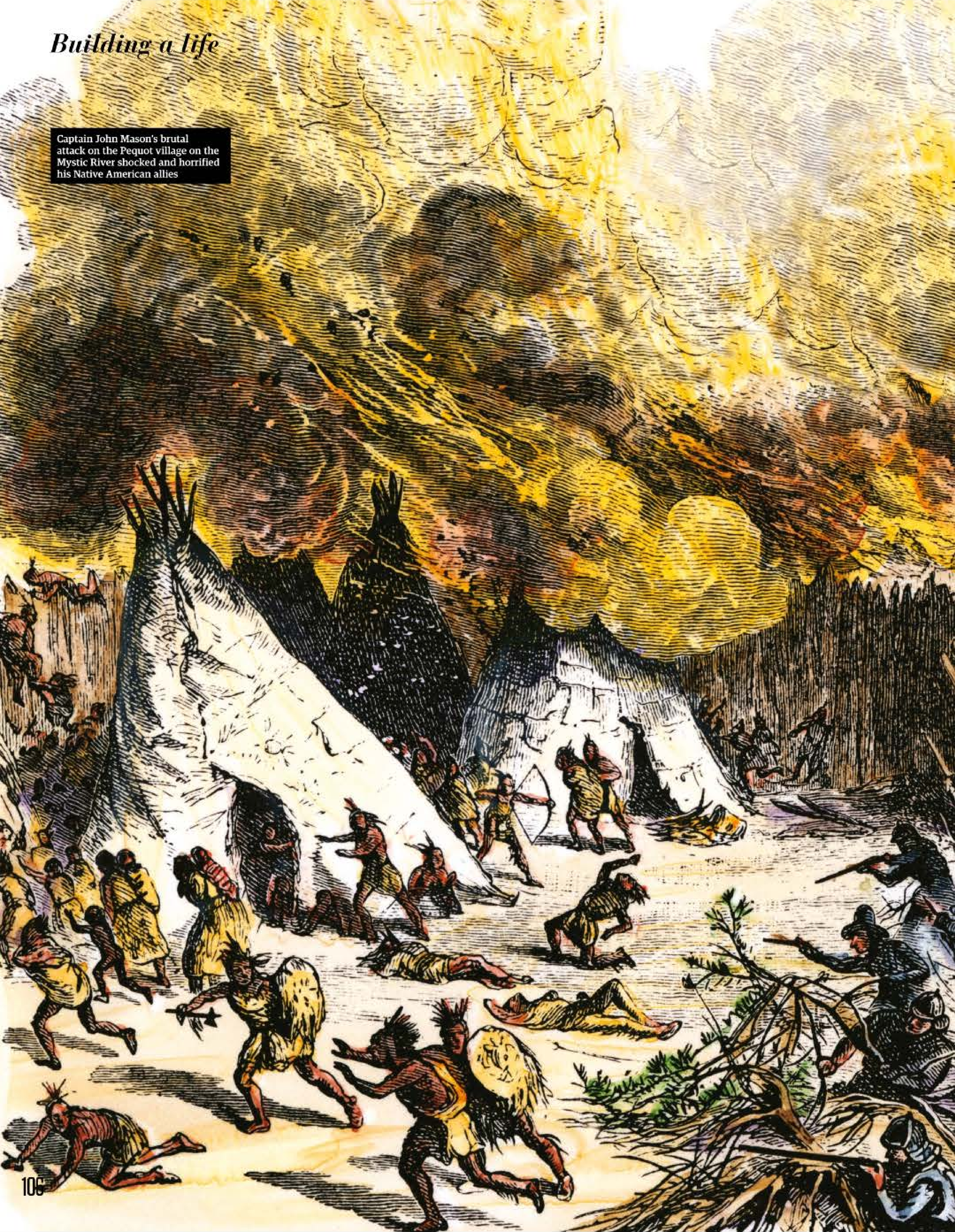
During the years of population growth, the Plymouth Colony gradually grew in territory. In 1627, after the agreement with the Council requiring the Pilgrims to live in a close-knit community had ended, the colony's major assets were distributed among the settlers, including livestock and acreage. New lands on the Atlantic coast from Plymouth northward were allotted to settlers for cultivation, agriculture and homesteads. Towns such as Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, and Barnstable were incorporated during the 1620s and 1630s. The settlement of Windsor was founded in 1633 and later became part of the colony of Connecticut. In 1637, a group of ten men from the village of Saugus near Boston received permission from the Plymouth government to found the hamlet of Sandwich on the southwestern shore of Cape Cod.

The population of New England grew significantly from the spring of 1634 through the end of the decade, and roughly 15 per cent of the immigrants to the region arrived between 1620 and 1633. The majority of these did not settle in Plymouth. In 1639, Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay established a boundary just over 25 miles northwest of the Plymouth town. The colony itself stretched from the tip of Cape Cod in the east beyond Taunton in the west, roughly 81 miles, and by the mid-17th century Plymouth had reached its zenith.

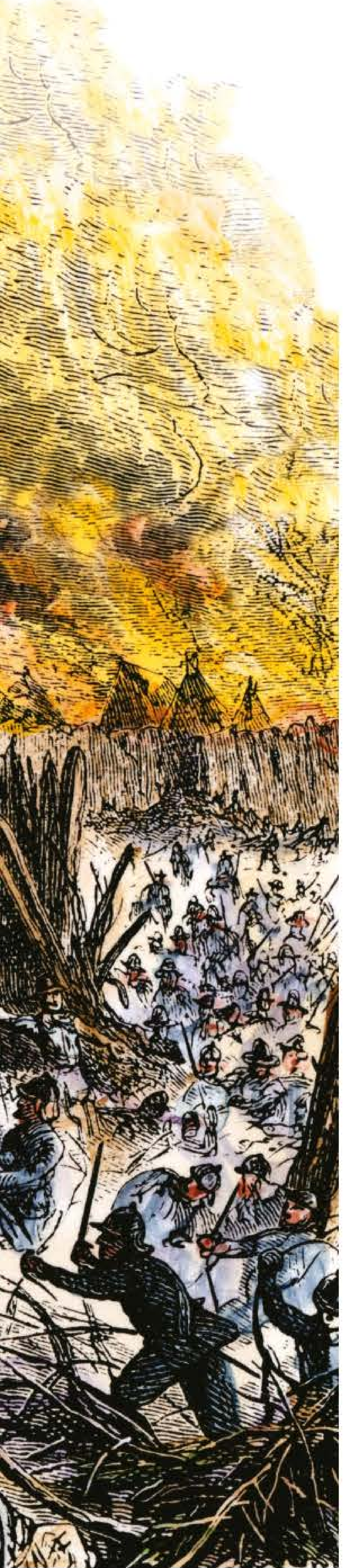
"At Aptucxet on the western edge of Cape Cod, the Pilgrims established their first trading post in 1626"



The Pilgrims named their New World home Plymouth after the port of their final departure, Plymouth, Devon, England, shown here



Captain John Mason's brutal attack on the Pequot village on the Mystic River shocked and horrified his Native American allies



The Pequot War

WORDS BY: *William E Welsh*

A series of kidnappings and murders sparked a bloody war in 1636 in which the Massachusetts Bay colonists eradicated the Pequot people

On 23 October 1634 a delegation from the Pequot tribe walked 100 miles to Boston to meet with representatives of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. One of the Pequots handed his hosts two bundles of sticks. Through the help of a translator, the puzzled Puritans learned that the sticks signified the large number of beaver pelts and otter skins that the Pequots would give the English people to ensure that the two peoples lived peacefully together.

The Puritan magistrates told the delegates that Pequot grand sachem Sassacus would need to send envoys of higher rank and authority capable of negotiating a treaty. Thirteen months later, two sachems arrived in Boston. They asked the magistrates for assistance resolving a dispute with the Narragansetts, a neighbouring tribe. In the spirit of cooperation, the magistrates not only assisted in mediating the dispute, but they drafted a treaty addressing a half dozen pressing matters.

These meetings seemed to indicate that the colonists and Native Americans could work together to resolve disputes; however, the shedding of blood in a series of confused incidents over the next two years derailed plans for peace.

The Pequots, who were concentrated most heavily east of the Thames River, were the dominant tribe in central and eastern Connecticut in the early 1630s. The Dutch had established a trading centre they called the Fort Good Hope in 1633 at present-day Hartford, and English traders routinely worked the coastlines and the mouths of the region's rivers. Moreover, the English had established settlements at Hartford, Springfield, Wethersfield and Windsor.

Before the arrival of the Pilgrims, the Pequot nation had numbered 16,000; however, the smallpox epidemic that swept through their villages in 1633 reduced their number to 3,000. As the strongest tribe in the region south of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, they demanded and received tribute from adjacent tribes and sought to monopolise trade with the Europeans at the expense of rival tribes such as the Mohegans, Narragansetts, Wampanoags and Algonquians. The Native Americans of the region typically traded beaver and other animal pelts for cloth, metal tools and firearms.

Tensions between the Pequots and English were steadily increasing at the time the Pequot embassy travelled to Boston. The catalysts for the Pequot War of 1636-1638 were kidnappings by the English and retaliatory killings by the Pequots. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, the Pequots occasionally mistook the Dutch for the English, and the English mistook other tribes, such as the Narragansetts, for the Pequots.

When the Pequots overtly tried to exclude other tribes from trading with the Dutch at Good Hope in 1634, the Dutch kidnapped and killed Pequot grand sachem Tatobem. In retaliation, a group of Pequots and their Niantic allies launched an attack, not on a Dutch trader, but perhaps inadvertently on an unsavoury English trader and slaver named John Stone. Stone and the seven members of his crew were trading along the Connecticut River in 1634 when they were murdered by a group of Pequots and Niantics. The Niantics alleged that Stone had enslaved several of their warriors and they vented their wrath by murdering him and his associates.

The English subsequently demanded that Sassacus, who succeeded Tatobem as the Pequots' new grand sachem, hand over warriors responsible for Stone's death, but he refused on the advice of his tribal council. Then, Narragansett warriors in July 1636 committed a similar atrocity when they killed John Oldham on his boat at Block Island.

Having lost all patience with the Pequots, the governors of Massachusetts Bay instructed Captain John Endecott to take 90 volunteers and conduct a punitive expedition against the Pequots. He travelled first to Block Island to avenge Oldham's murder and then sailed to Fort Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River.

Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, the fort's commander, told Endecott that a raid against the Pequots would serve to bring down the wrath of the Pequots on the weakly held fort. "You come hither to raise these wasps around my ears, and you will take wing and flee away," said Gardiner. After the cold reception, Endecott led his small group of boats to the heart of the Pequot nation at the mouth of the Thames River. Upon arrival, he issued an ultimatum to the Pequots: hand over the murderers of Captain Stone or face war with Massachusetts Bay.

Sassacus was away on a journey to Long Island at the time. When the negotiations stalled, Endecott disembarked his force in full battle array. Although the Pequots would not engage them in battle, the English nevertheless fired on them and burned many of their wigwams. A stalemate ensued during the winter with the Pequots besieging Fort Saybrook.

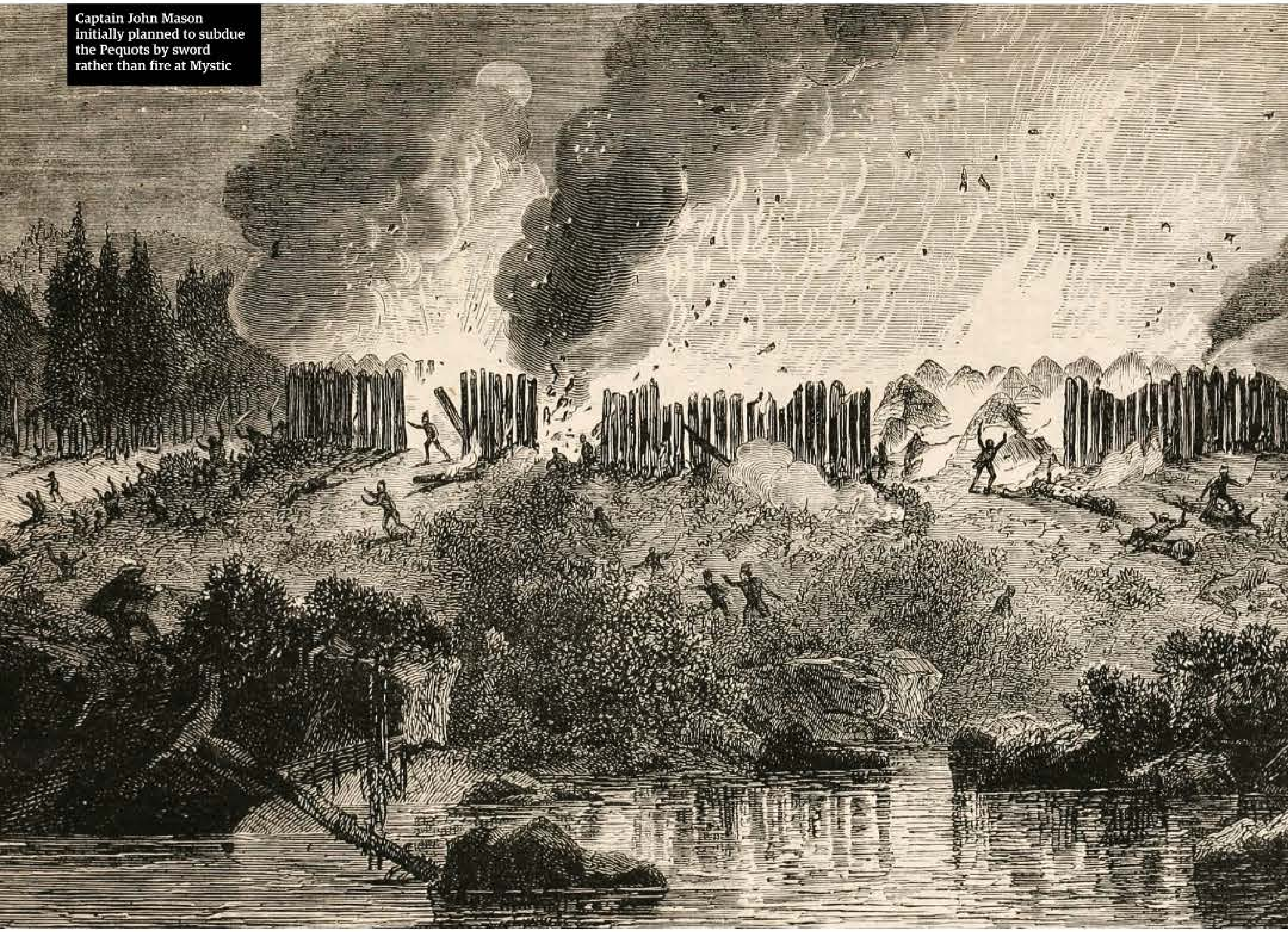
On 11 March 1637, a new English force based in Harford took the field against the Pequots. Captain John Mason, a professional soldier, led his men south to Saybrook where they were reinforced the following month with additional troops led by Captain John Underhill. Mason's first move was to sail east to recruit the assistance of the Narragansetts against their foe the Pequot.

Meanwhile, Sassacus was ravaging the English settlements in the Connecticut Valley. Mason marched his troops west to the mouth of the Thames River. Once there he decided to attack a large Pequot village at Mystic that was encircled by a palisade. His intention was not to burn the village, but to overwhelm the villagers by force of arms. He told his men they were to kill the warriors, but spare the women and children. After killing the warriors, he also intended to plunder the village.

Mason's 110-man colonial force, augmented by over 200 Mohegan and Narragansett allies, attacked Mystic village on the night of 26 May. They assailed the fort simultaneously from two sides. As they were forming up, the Pequots fired a steady stream of arrows at them through gaps in the palings. Mason had naively expected the Pequot warriors to fight the colonists in the open outside the fort, but when they did not fight as he had expected, he scorned them as 'savages' who did not deserve mercy.

Next, Mason instructed his Native American allies to fire burning arrows over the palisade into the village in an attempt to set it afire. While the Pequots were distracted by the fire, Mason's men forced their way into the village. An orgy of killing ensued.

"Great and doleful was the bloody sight... to see so many souls lying gasping on the ground, so thick in some places, that you could hardly pass along," Underhill wrote afterwards. Mason suffered two killed and 20 wounded. As the village burned, the Pequot casualties mounted steadily. Women and children desperate to escape were cut down by the Mohegans and Narragansetts as they tried to climb over the palisade. As many as 700



Captain John Mason initially planned to subdue the Pequots by sword rather than fire at Mystic

"Mason instructed his Native American allies to fire burning arrows over the palisade into the village"

Pequot men, women, and children died during the Mystic Massacre.

The colonists easily prevailed in the battle because the village's warriors, who were led by Sassacus, were still engaged in their expedition against the English settlements in the Connecticut Valley. This left the Pequot elders and women to fend for themselves.

Afterwards, the Native American allies complained vociferously to Mason about the brutality of the attack. They said the Englishmen fought in an unfair manner. They were accustomed to light casualties in battle. "They might fight for seven years and only kill seven men," wrote Underhill.

The last battle of the Pequot War was on 13-14 July 1637. Known as the Fairfield Swamp Fight, it was fought between a Massachusetts Bay force co-commanded by Mason and Captain Israel Stoughton and Sassacus and 100 warriors who were trying to reach Mohawk territory in the Hudson Valley. Although they inflicted heavy casualties on the Pequots, they failed to capture the grand sachem.

Sassacus hoped to receive protection from the Mohawks, but they killed him because they did not want to jeopardise their relations with the English by harbouring a fugitive.

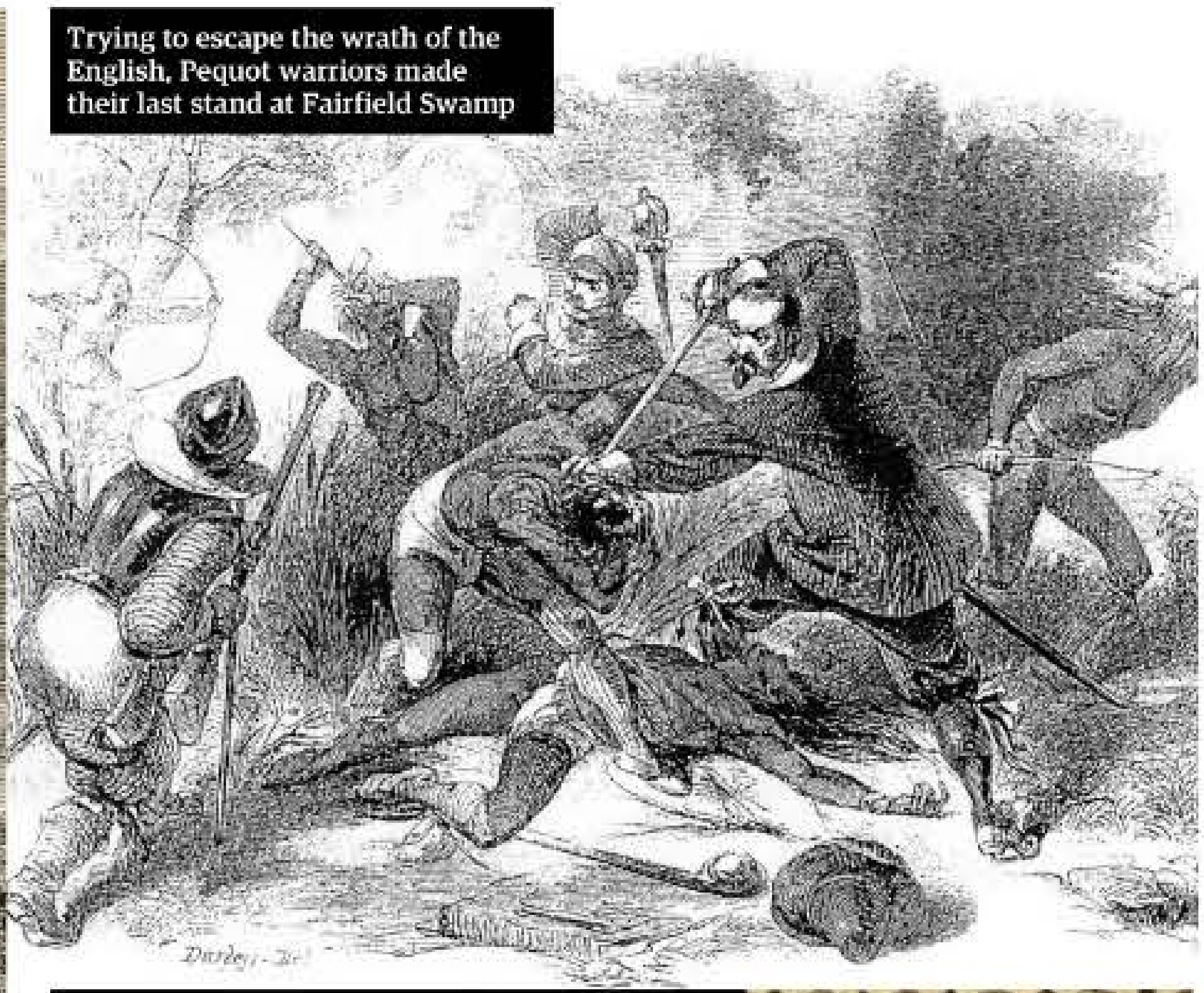
Of the 500 Pequots who survived the war, those that surrendered or were captured were kept as slaves by the English colonists and their Native American allies. The English allowed the Mohegans and Narragansetts to divide up the Pequot lands.

The Pequots' arrogance had been their demise. They had monopolised trade with the Europeans and created a burdensome situation for weaker tribes by requiring them to pay tribute. They gave the Puritans the excuse they sought to go to war.

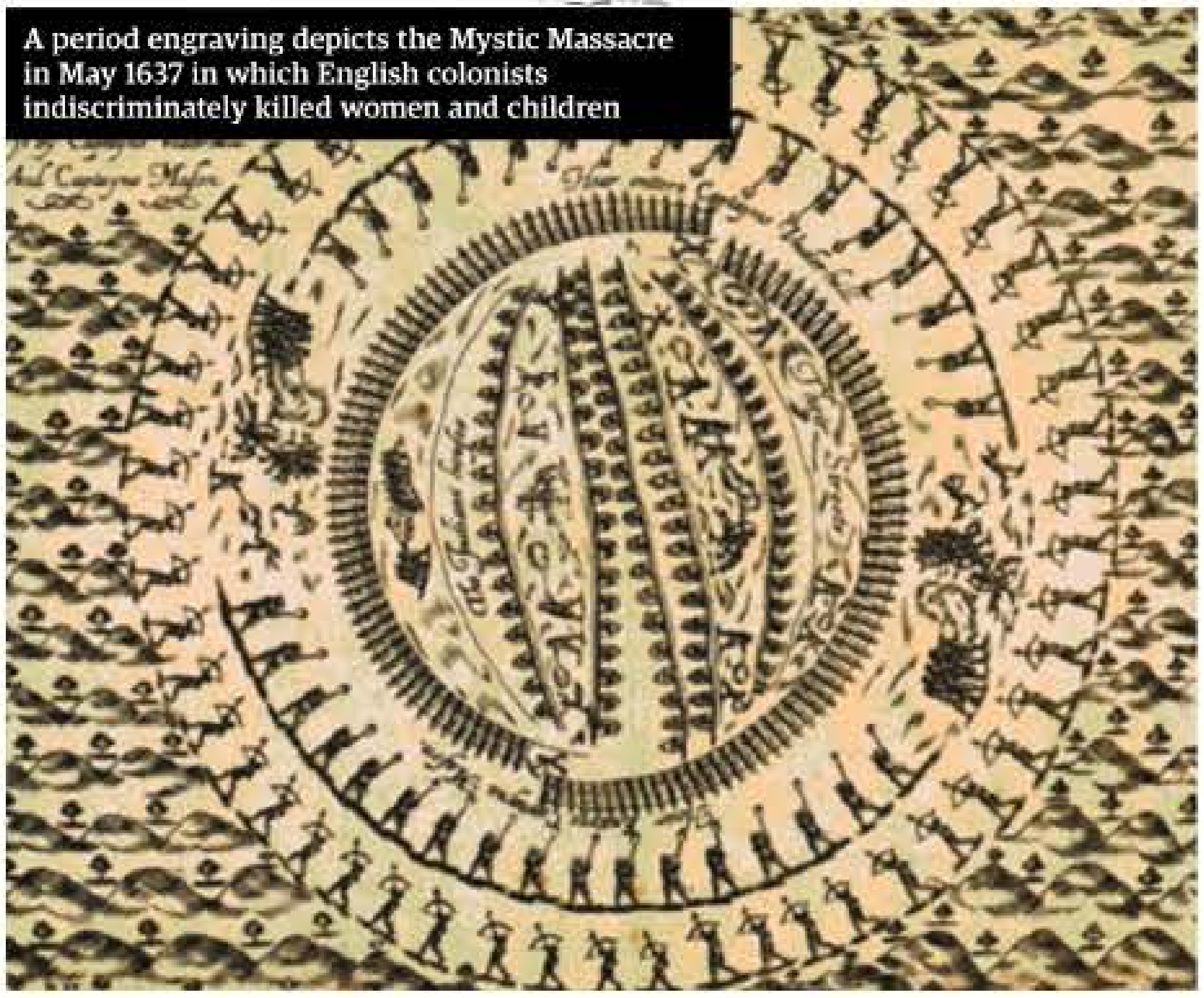
But the Puritans had reacted to the situation with force far beyond what was necessary to punish the Pequots. The Puritans deliberately chose to wage total war on the Pequots. Contemporaneous Puritan accounts of the war refer to the Pequots as savages and say that the war was divine providence and retribution for Pequot depredations.

By word and deed, the Puritans fomented a fear of Native Americans among their people. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Puritans believed the Pequots were agents of Satan.

In addition to their religious extremism, the Massachusetts Bay colonists also wanted to vanquish the Pequots so that one day they could settle their desirable lands.



Trying to escape the wrath of the English, Pequot warriors made their last stand at Fairfield Swamp



A period engraving depicts the Mystic Massacre in May 1637 in which English colonists indiscriminately killed women and children

Search and destroy

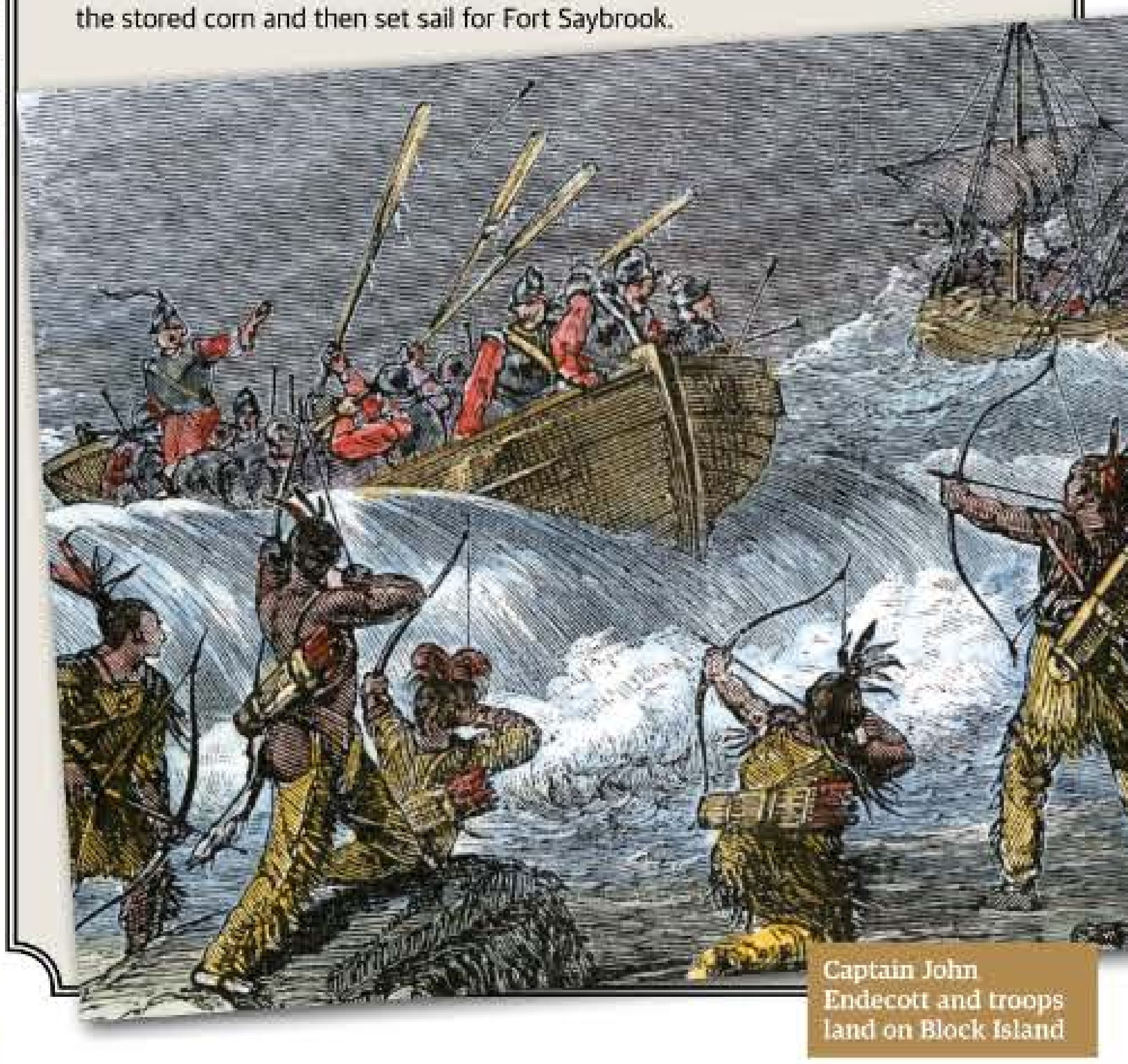
The English seek revenge on Block Island

The setting sun had almost reached the horizon on 23 August 1636, when three pinnaces loaded with soldiers from the Massachusetts Bay Colony hove to off the shore of Block Island. The troops leapt into the crashing surf under fire from a party of 50 Native American warriors who showered them with arrows.

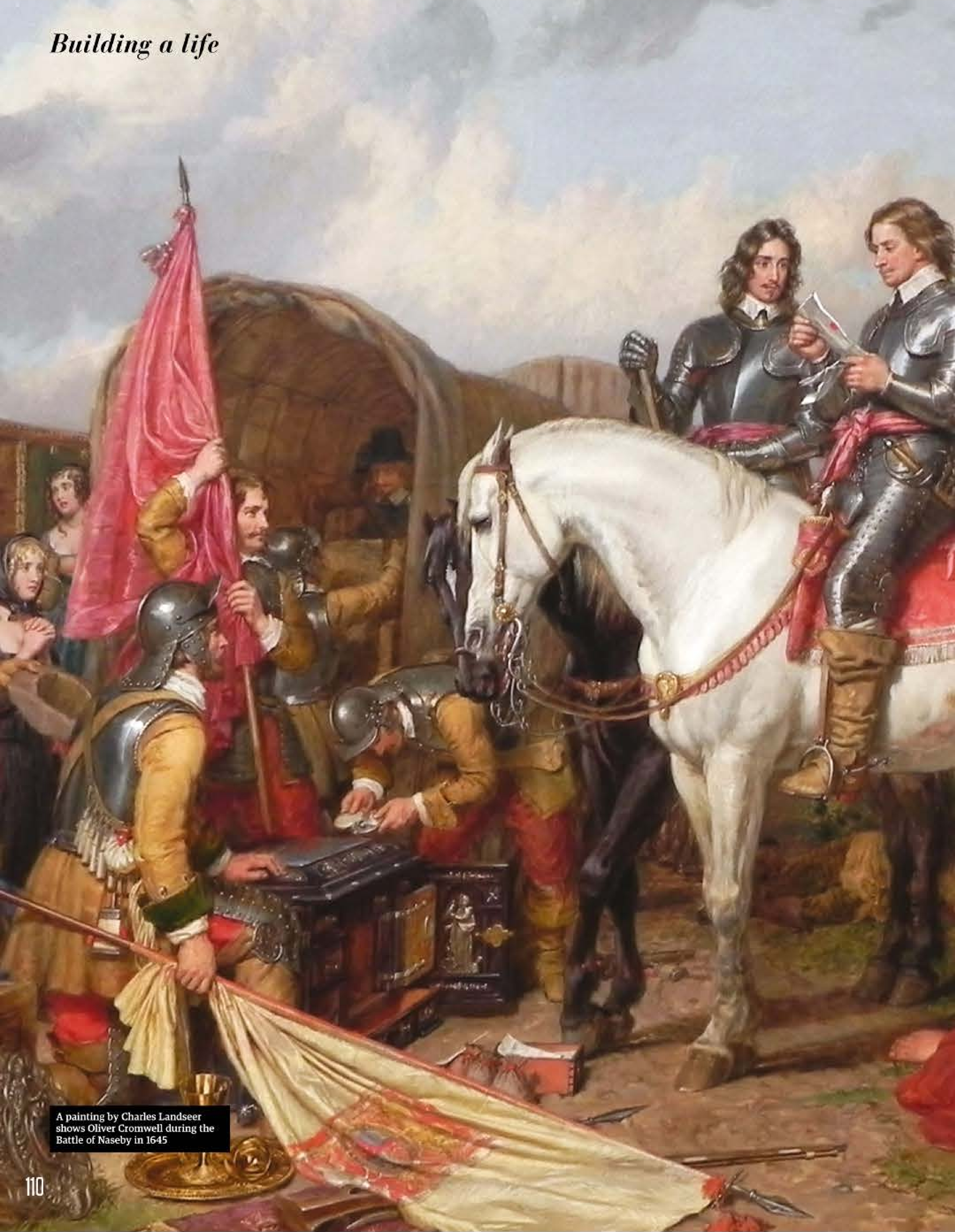
By the time Captain John Endecott had assembled his force on the shore, the Native Americans had withdrawn. Endecott had been sent to punish the Pequots living on the island for the murder of English trader John Oldham. But there were no Pequots living on the island at the time. Indeed, the Narragansetts who inhabited the island had murdered Oldham.

Endecott's party found two villages, each with about 60 wigwams, on the island. Inside the village they found large stores of recently harvested corn. The soldiers spent two days scouring the island, but they could not flush the Narragansetts.

The island's inhabitants had likely been forewarned of the impending attack and fled to the safety of the mainland. Endecott and his men torched the village and the stored corn and then set sail for Fort Saybrook.



Captain John Endecott and troops land on Block Island



A painting by Charles Landseer shows Oliver Cromwell during the Battle of Naseby in 1645

The colonists and the English Civil War

WORDS BY: *Derek Wilson*

If the New World settlers thought they had escaped the conflicts of the old, they were thoroughly mistaken

The Puritan poet John Milton, in his epic verse drama *Paradise Lost*, put these words into the mouth of the fallen archangel Lucifer: "The mind is its own place, and in it self; Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n; What matter where, if I be still the same." It is unlikely that Milton had the American colonists in mind when he penned those lines, but many who had crossed the Atlantic in search of a better life in states fashioned in accord with their own religious and political convictions were to discover for themselves the truth of his words, for they took their conflicts with them.

By the time of the outbreak of the English Civil War (more accurately called the British Civil Wars, since the succession of conflicts involved all parts of the British Isles), there were several distinct entities perched on the eastern seaboard of North America. Between them they represented the principal religious divisions in English society. The majority of emigrés were Puritans, both Presbyterians and various brands of Separatists. This is why the period 1620-1640 is sometimes called the Great Migration. Some 80,000 fled from England, a quarter of whom settled in New England. If we include the settlements in Newfoundland to the north, there were a dozen communities doing their utmost to survive and thrive in an environment that offered more challenges than opportunities.

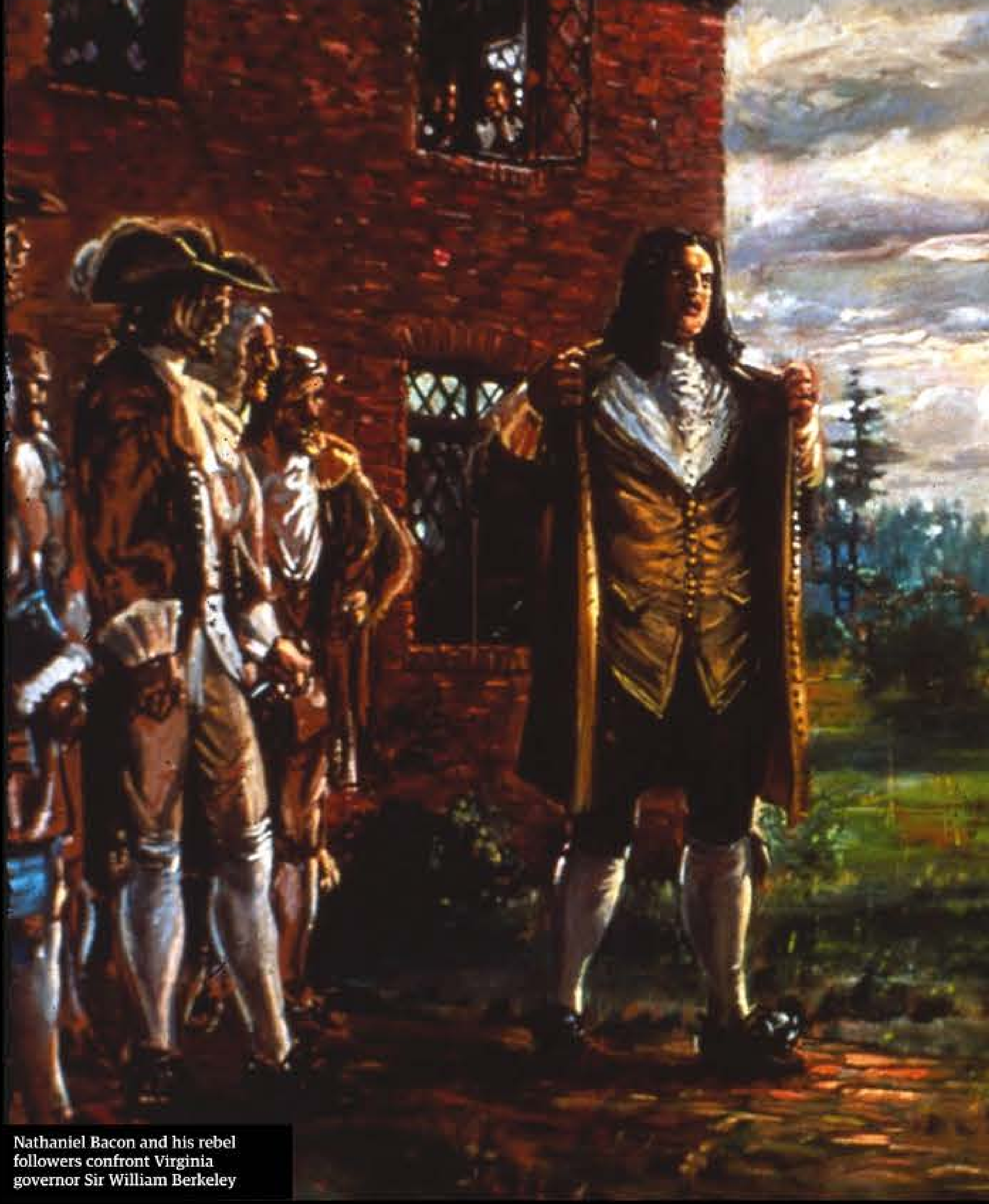
Yet this is only part of the story. Radical Calvinists by no means accounted for all of the settlers that arrived. The crown colony of Virginia had been set up with Church of England doctrine, litany and polity as vital elements in the way of life of its population. Maryland was originally established (1634) as a haven for Catholics. By contrast, Rhode Island became embroiled in the supposed heresy of Anne Hutchinson in the 1630s.

Anne, a well-educated woman, mother of 11 children and resident of Boston, assumed the role of a prophetess and challenged the teaching of the established church ministers. She was eventually condemned for heresy and banished. She took with her several followers and eventually resettled in Rhode Island, where she joined with Roger Williams, a minister of unorthodox views, who had also been disowned by the Massachusetts authorities. Williams went on to become one of the pioneers of the Baptist Church in America. From such experiences it can be seen that the settlers, fleeing from discord in their own land, had brought discord with them. In fact, what was happening on the other side of the Atlantic was a dim mirror image of the turmoil in England that resulted in civil war.

The causes of the sporadic warfare between 1642 and 1649 were many and various. There were both religious and political issues involved and, indeed, religion and politics were completely intertwined. Without wanting to deny the complexity of the issues involved, we can reasonably say that what was at stake was the relationship of the English people with God. Charles I held an exalted idea of his authority, founded on the divine right of kings. He believed himself to be God's appointee and, as such, expected unquestioning obedience from his subjects. He took little account of Parliament and, for 11 years, ruled without summoning it.

The king was supported by William Laud, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633-1645. Laud was a high churchman determined to purge the English Church of all Puritan influences. It was Laud's reactionary policies of making church décor and worship more ornate and imposing uniformity of belief and practice that provoked the Great Migration.

King and archbishop, motivated by a deep conviction that reform should be imposed in order to achieve the 'thorough' authority of God's anointed representative, tried to force the Scots to use the English Prayer Book. They rebelled. Charles went to war with his own subjects, found he could not afford it and had to turn to Parliament for money. The Eleven Years' Tyranny was over. Parliament demanded reform of 'abuses' before they would vote fresh taxes. In 1642, the king faced either complete humiliation or raising an army to deal with his 'disobedient' Parliament. He chose the latter.



Nathaniel Bacon and his rebel followers confront Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley

If 'divine right' was the immovable object of the Civil War, 'freedom of conscience' was the irresistible force. The confrontation had been building up for over 100 years - ever since the English people had been in possession of the Bible in their own tongue. If men and women were free to read and interpret the word of God for themselves they had a mandate to resist doctrines and forms of worship imposed by kings and bishops. It was the desire for religious freedom that had impelled the Mayflower voyagers, and they were not alone in turning their backs on a regime that had become intolerable.

The trickle of migrants making their way to New England and other colonies became a river during the years of autocratic Stuart rule. In 1630, around 700 passengers took ship for Massachusetts, and other such voyagers followed, right up to the outbreak of war.

"By 1647 Charles I was living in honourable confinement, but he continued to plot against the government"

What happened then? How did the colonists react to the conflict in their mother country? And how did the rival forces in England behave towards their overseas possessions? The first fact of note is that transatlantic movement changed direction. As the challenge to imposed religion gathered strength the impulse to seek freedom abroad declined. The Great Migration ceased almost entirely. Not only that, many settlers returned to England to add their weight to the Parliamentary cause. It is estimated that between seven and eleven per cent of the New England Puritans returned home during the early stages of the war. This was a strikingly large proportion of the colonial population. Doubtless there were among them several who were disillusioned with life in the New World, but many returnees stayed in England after the war was over and contributed to the building of a godly commonwealth under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell. Whatever the reason for people giving up on the colonial adventure, it is clear that the situation was flexible.

Britain was involved in sporadic warfare for a whole decade from 1642. By 1647 Charles I was a prisoner living in honourable confinement on the Isle of Wight, but he continued to plot against the government set up by Parliament and the Parliamentary army. The conflict was prolonged by Royalists in Scotland and Ireland. Eventually, the king was placed on trial, found guilty of treason against the people and executed in January 1649. Still, the military confrontation was not over, and it was 1653 before Oliver Cromwell took power as Lord Protector and attempted to heal the nation's wounds. Preoccupied with restoring order at home and involved in a mercantile war with the Dutch, he was inclined, as far as possible, to leave the American colonies to their own devices.

Ideologically, those who took up arms against the king had much in common with the American settlers. Although men, women and whole families (often including servants) made the transatlantic journey for a variety of reasons, the people who set the tone of colonial life were seeking religious freedom. The Parliamentary armies were, in large measure, made up of Anglican Presbyterians, who rejected Episcopal Church government in favour of a regime in which all ministers were equal, and Independents who favoured complete autonomy

of every local church. By definition, the enemies of the king favoured toleration. Royalists feared that religious freedom was the slippery slope to anarchy. To some extent their fears were soon realised.

Religious belief in mid-17th-century Britain was argued over by a plethora of religious and politico-religious groups. As well as Anglicans, Presbyterians and Independents, there were Quakers, Baptists, Levellers, Ranters, Diggers, Muggletonians and self-styled prophets who attracted their own small bands of followers. Cromwell's government discovered that toleration was an excellent principle that did not always work in practice. By the time of the Lord Protector's death (1658) the balance of religious freedom and stable government had yet to be worked out. When Charles II returned to re-establish the monarchy (1660), he re-introduced the autocratic regime of his father, imposing Anglican 'orthodoxy' and sacking ministers who did not toe the party line.

During the war, and particularly during the Interregnum (1649-1660), the government in London was firstly busy enough with affairs at home and secondly in sympathy with the colonists' libertarian aspirations. However, the settlers were English subjects and their interests were tied up with those of the mother country. Occasionally it was necessary to remind the colonists of this. But what from one side of the Atlantic was seen as a demand for loyalty, from the other side could look like interference.

The crisis in England occurred at a time when the fledgling American settlements were trying to establish their political identities and economic stability. Agriculture and simple industries had to be set up, as did external trade patterns. Relations with local tribes were an ongoing concern. Rivalries among the states frequently complicated their lives. Since each settlement had its own problems, we have to consider them individually.

The Plymouth settlement suffered serious and prolonged birth pangs. Disease and famine took their toll, and it was not until the significant influx of people during the Great Migration that the fortunes of the colony improved. But the new arrivals also brought problems. New coastal settlements were established from southern Maine to Massachusetts Bay, some of which felt no allegiance to the laws or principles laid down by the Council for New England which governed Plymouth. The Massachusetts

Sir William Berkeley

A successful colonial leader who hated Puritans

Sir William Berkeley (1605-1677), who became governor of Virginia in 1641, was one of the more controversial figures in colonial politics throughout the middle years of the 17th century.

Since Virginia was a crown colony, he was a royal appointee and a staunch supporter of the monarchy. He absolutely despised the enemies of Charles I and regarded all Puritans as heretics and potential traitors. He enforced strict adherence to the teaching and formularies of the Church of England and harried out of office ministers who displayed unorthodox tendencies. This was unfortunate at a time when most immigrants to Virginia were Puritans.

Berkeley, a one-time courtier and a man of aristocratic family, was an 'old-school' Royalist who was suspicious of education, printing, preaching and anything that appeared to challenge traditional society. Unsurprisingly, many settlers left for the more amenable colonies of Maryland and Massachusetts. The governor was no less harsh in his dealing with the indigenous people.

When the Parliamentarians won the Civil War, it was the turn of downcast Royalists to flee their own lands. Berkeley encouraged them to seek refuge in Virginia. It was not long before the republican government in London sent a couple of ships across the sea with orders for his removal. However, this reactionary official was progressive in his encouragement of the colonial economy.

On his own lands he experimented in the growth of several crops and he resisted attempts by the English Government to restrict trade with other nations and colonies. However strong his principles were, Berkeley was pragmatic when it came to the day-to-day wellbeing of the settlers under his authority. They showed their appreciation by recalling him to office in 1660.

Navigation Acts

Trade became a weapon of war for the English, the Dutch and the colonists

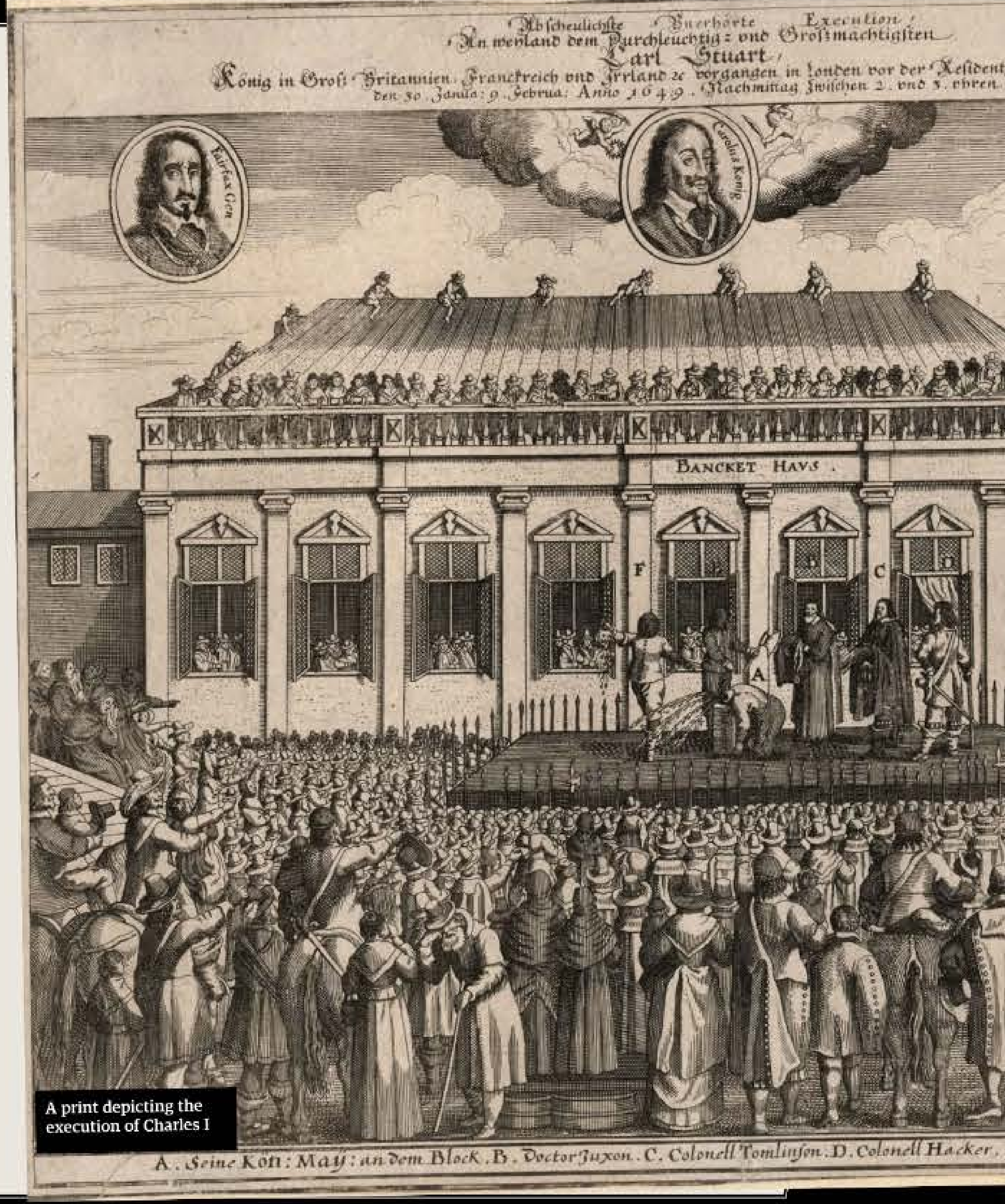
It was axiomatic within Europe that governments laid down the rules for maritime trade. Protectionist policies were in place to ensure native merchants and shipowners obtained the maximum profit from their activities and that governments received their due share from the tariffs levied on inbound and outbound goods at ports.

Trade rivalry was both a contributory factor to European wars and a weapon used in waging them. Colonies providing valuable commodities were commercially and politically important. England, like other nations, controlled imports from and exports to its colonies in order to prevent foreign interference. In the colonies, however, trading activity was seen differently.

Farmers, plantation owners and merchants simply wanted to sell and buy at the best price. They were open for business with any ships that docked in American ports and did a steadily increasing trade with French and Dutch merchants as well as those from other New World settlements. As early as 1621 the London government placed a ban on the export of Virginian tobacco to other countries. Thereafter, legislative measures were sporadically refined, culminating in the Navigation Act of 1651.

The 'Act for increase of Shipping and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation' banned all foreign ships from trading in colonial ports. Imports from other countries and colonies might only be obtained direct from England or carried in English ships - regardless of price. Later administration brought in other navigation acts.

In practice the economic effects on the colonists were not major. This was largely because there were several ways of evading the law and England lacked the resources to enforce it energetically. The psychological impact, however, was considerable. Over the ensuing century resentment of English 'interference' grew and became a major factor in the build up to the War of Independence.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A print depicting the execution of Charles I

> "A law was passed in London against the colonial Royalists. It arbitrarily declaimed all supporters of the late king as 'notorious robbers and traitors'"

Bay settlements (of which Boston became the capital) considered themselves independent of all outside bodies including Crown and Parliament. They followed the rites of the Church of England but had no bishops. The Church was, therefore, a unique mixture of traditional, Anglican worship and Independent polity in which every congregation was a law unto itself. The governors were as autocratic as the king. While jealously guarding their own independence from England, they refused to grant the same latitude to individuals and groups they regarded as heretical.

Though the colony grew rapidly, it also splintered as rejected groups left to set up their own theocracies. In 1648, the leaders of Massachusetts Bay reached an accord on church organisation with those of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, but the doctrinal and ethical purity they sought continued to remain elusive.

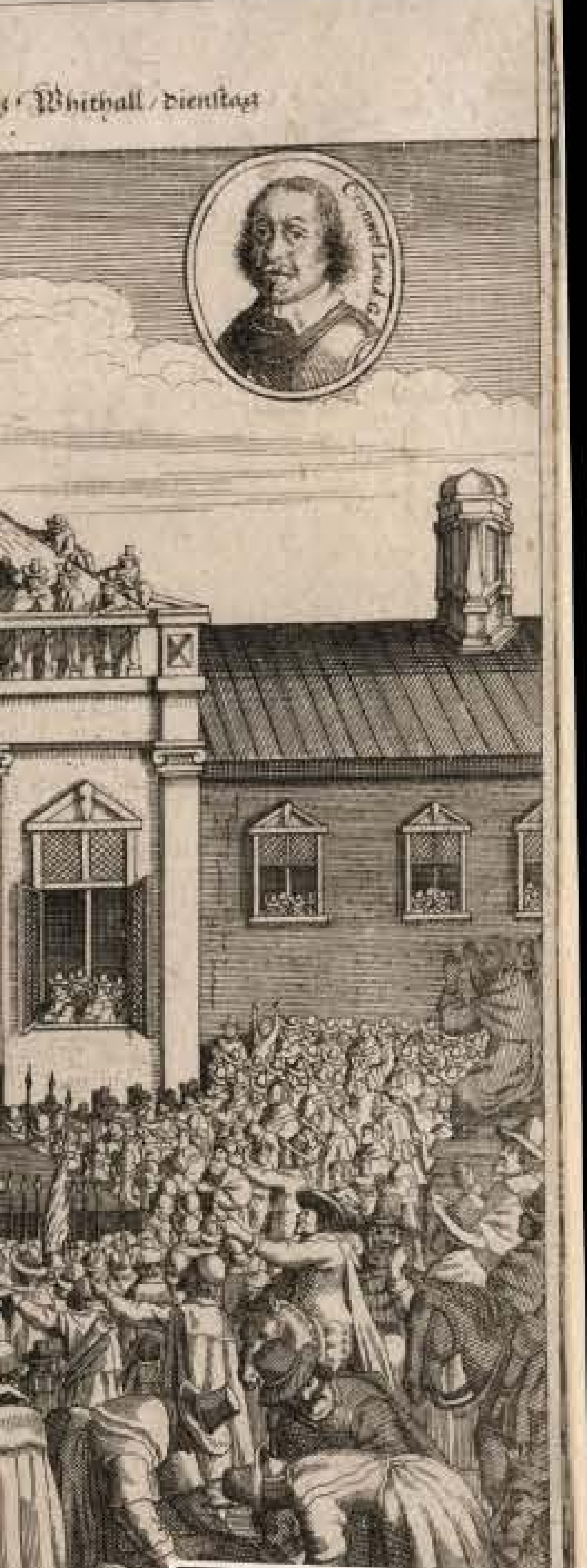
Maryland, as we have seen, was unique among colonies, being founded (1634) by and for Catholics. The problem was that the majority of immigrants coming to make their homes there were Puritans. Leonard Calvert, the Maryland leader, tried to impose a quasi-feudal regime. A Toleration Act (1649) established freedom of conscience but tensions remained high and led in 1655 to the Battle of the Severn, which overthrew the Calvert administration. The Puritans followed their victory by burning down several Catholic churches.

The English constitutional vision was most clearly reflected in Virginia. Governor William Berkeley, who was loyal to Charles I, forced Puritan settlers out of the colony. After the king's death Berkeley was deposed and a law was passed in London against the colonial Royalists. It arbitrarily declared all supporters of the late king "to be notorious robbers and traitors, and such as by the law of nations are not to be permitted any manner of commerce or traffic with any people whatsoever".

Parliament officially licensed privateers to raid colonial settlements and ships suspected of carrying on illicit trade. For a while it seemed that an invasion force might be sent from England but this never materialised. Cromwell and his officials had more pressing matters to deal with at home, and the distance between old England and New England was too great to make a major expedition feasible.

The conflict between the colonists and the mother country, between individual colonies and between groups within the colonies, demonstrated a contradiction at the heart of the colonial system. The overseas settlements were meant to be loyal dependencies, but their inhabitants consisted in large measure of people who wanted to be independent of the government in London, whether it be of Royalist or Parliamentarian colours.

This tension between the Old World and the New World would continue to simmer for another 100 years and would only be resolved by the War of American Independence (or the American Revolutionary War) that erupted in 1775.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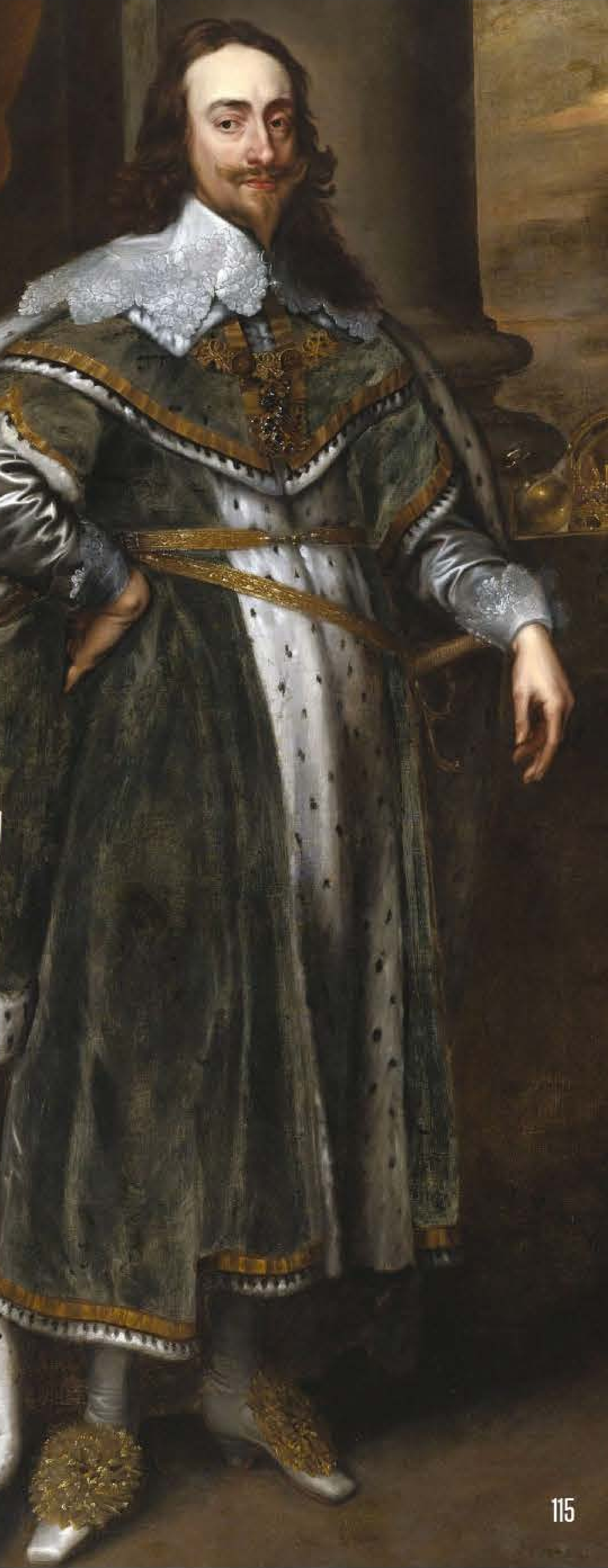
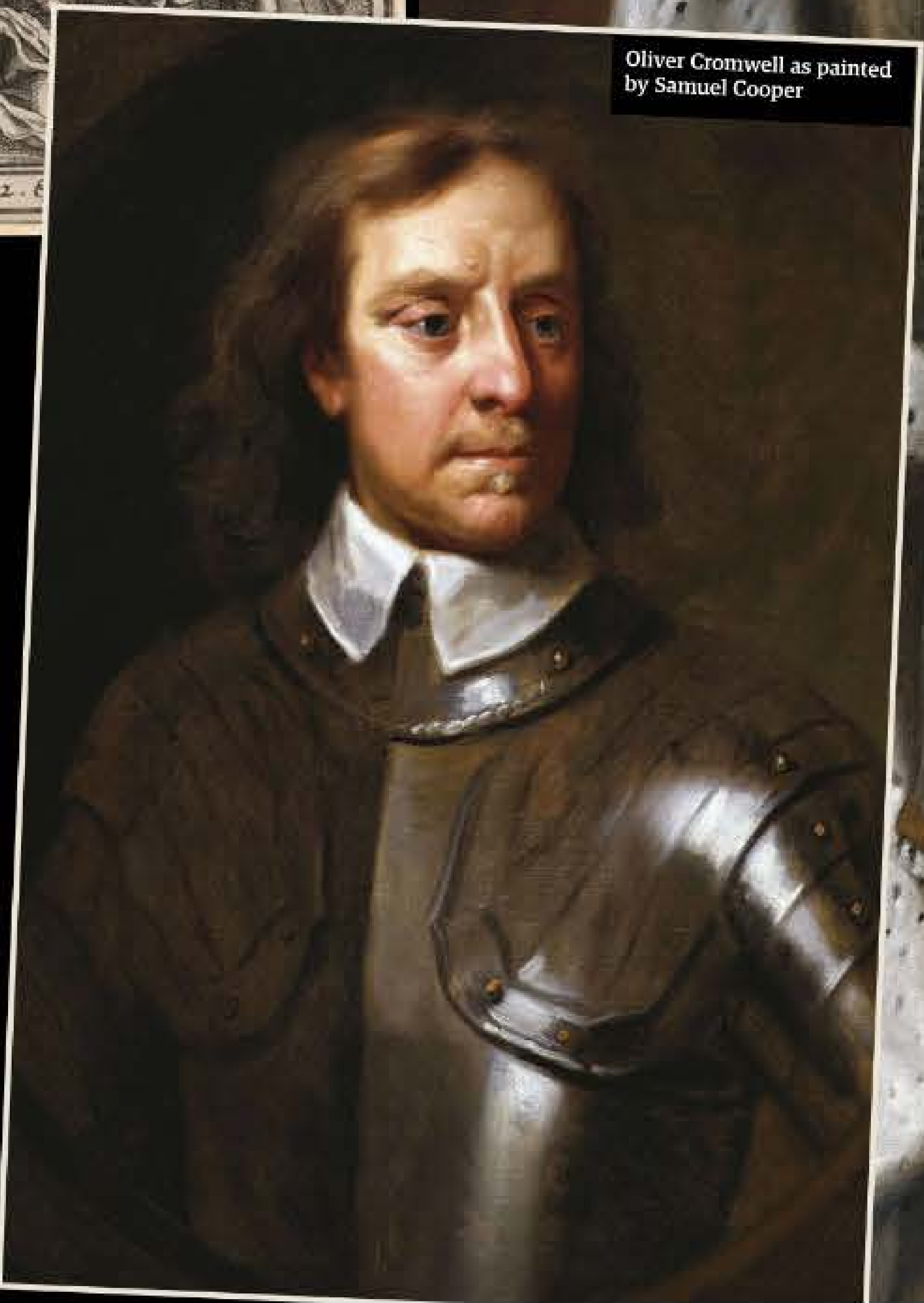
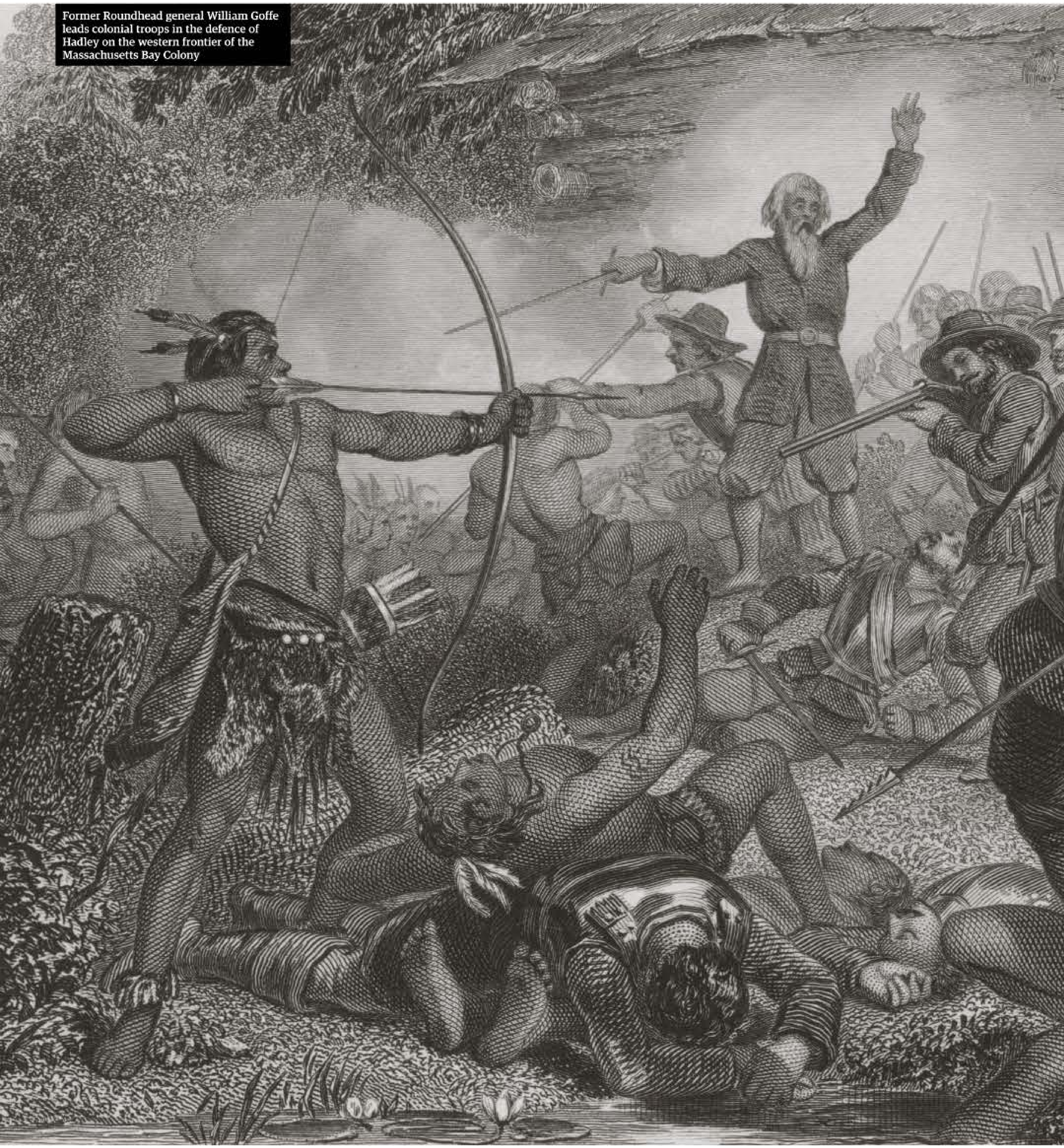
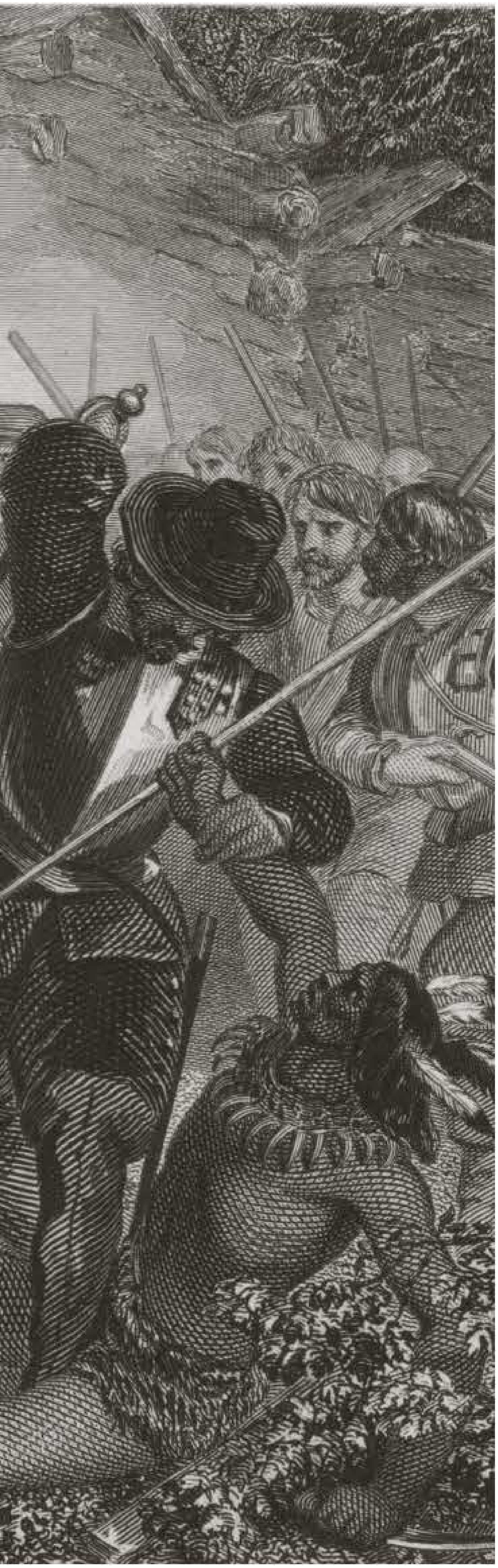

A portrait of King Charles I, based on an original by van Dyck


Oliver Cromwell as painted by Samuel Cooper



Former Roundhead general William Goffe leads colonial troops in the defence of Hadley on the western frontier of the Massachusetts Bay Colony



King Philip's War

WORDS BY: *William E Welsh*

The bloody rebellion that erupted in 1675 in southern New England was doomed to failure for lack of unity and coordination among the Native Americans

The English residents of Swansea in western Plymouth Colony were of two minds in mid-June 1675 as tensions mounted between the proud members of the Wampanoag tribe and the Puritans of the colony. Some residents felt it was better to depart their homes for safer environs, while others believed it was important to stand their ground should they find themselves under attack.

At the village of Kickemuit, which was situated at the narrow neck of the peninsula where great sachem Metacomet resided with his Pokanoket band of the Wampanoags, young warriors on 20 June began looting evacuated homes. Several days later, on 23 June, a father goaded his son into firing on a group of looters. The young man took careful aim with his flintlock musket and fired. He struck a warrior, who limped off after his companions as they fled into the forest.

A group of Wampanoags returned to Kickemuit later that day. They inquired as to why the warrior was shot. A group of villagers, one of whom was the young man involved in the incident, asked what had become of the warrior that had been shot. When the warriors told them that he had died from his wound, the young man haughtily remarked of the death that "it was no matter". The warriors seethed with rage. They returned in force the next day to exact revenge. They killed the boy and his father, as well as eight other villagers.

Road to war

Metacomet, who the English called Philip, had been unable to control his wilful young warriors. He was the second son of Massasoit, a great sachem of the Wampanoags who had maintained peace with the English in southern New England for four decades from the time the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620 until his death in 1661. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Wamsutta.

Those peaceful relations deteriorated steadily over the course of the next 14 years. The English settlers did not regard the Native Americans as their equals. They ruthlessly exploited them for cheap work, hiring them as labourers and servants. Even when the Native Americans converted to Calvinism, as was the case with a small number of them, they were still forced to live in separate so-called praying towns.

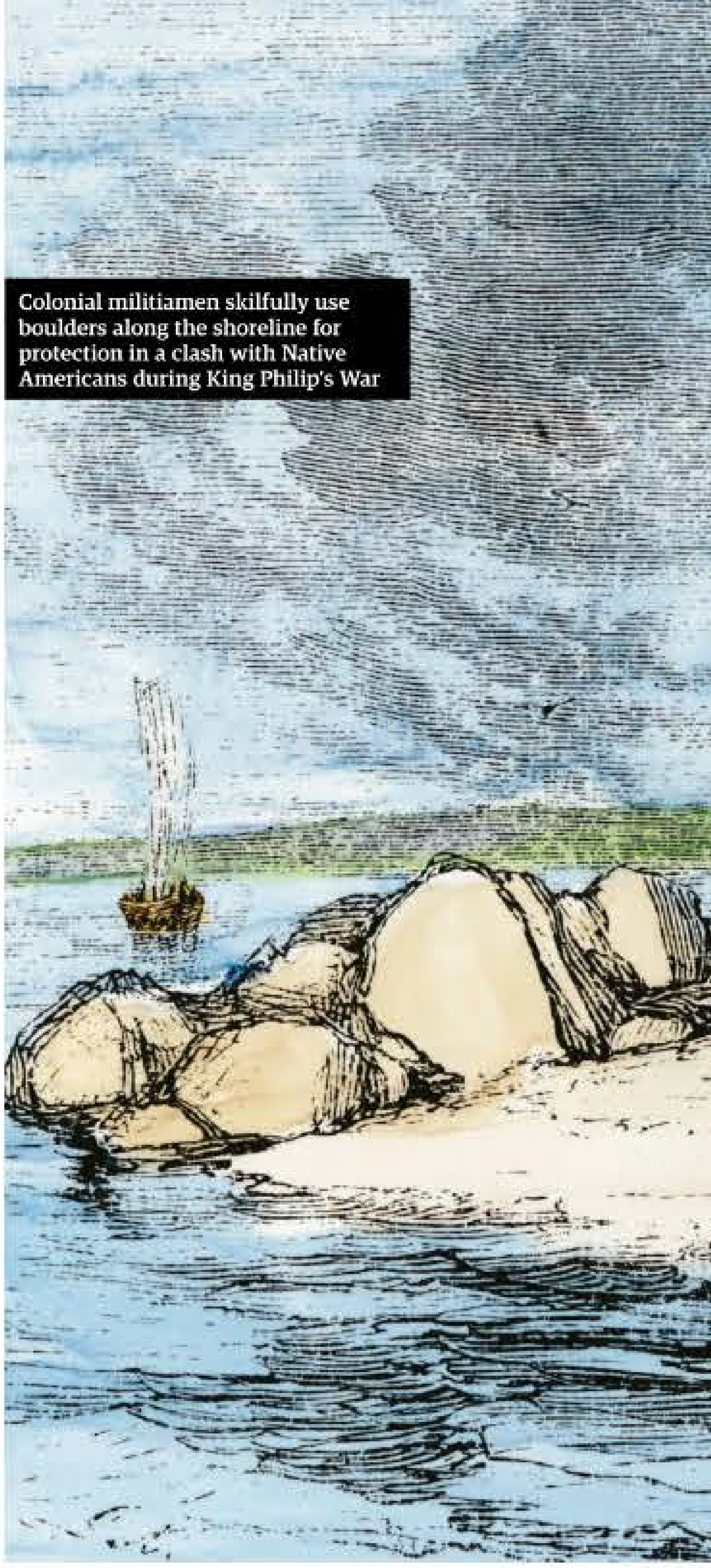
When Plymouth Colony authorities learned the following year of a suspected plot against them by the Wampanoags, they summoned Wamsutta to appear before them. While in the custody of the English he died under suspicious circumstance. The Wampanoags believed the English had poisoned him. Wamsutta was succeeded by headstrong 24-year-old King Philip.

By the end of the 1660s, the Wampanoags, Narragansetts and several other tribes had begun holding war councils. Plymouth authorities exacerbated the situation by requiring Philip to sign an agreement in April 1671 by which he agreed to compel his tribe to relinquish its firearms. The Wampanoags surrendered only a token number of their guns. Five months later the authorities from the other three colonies - Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay - joined Plymouth in compelling Philip to sign another agreement in which he agreed to abide by the laws of both the royal government and those of Plymouth Colony.

The death of the Christian-Indian John Sassamon on 29 January 1675 convinced Philip that he had no recourse left to him but war if he was to preserve his honour. Sassamon had once served as Philip's secretary, but he eventually took a job as a Calvinist preacher in the praying town of Natick.

When the Wampanoags learned that he was passing along information to Plymouth Governor Josiah Winslow in December 1674, they branded him a spy. His lifeless body was discovered the following month at Assawompset Pond near Taunton.

An eyewitness claimed to have seen three Wampanoags murder him. They were tried and convicted by a Plymouth Colony court and hung on 8 June 1675. Whether or not they committed the murder is disputed. The sticking point for Philip was that his judicial authority in matters involving his tribe was superseded by Plymouth authorities despite the agreements he had signed.


Colonial militiamen skilfully use boulders along the shoreline for protection in a clash with Native Americans during King Philip's War

The long march

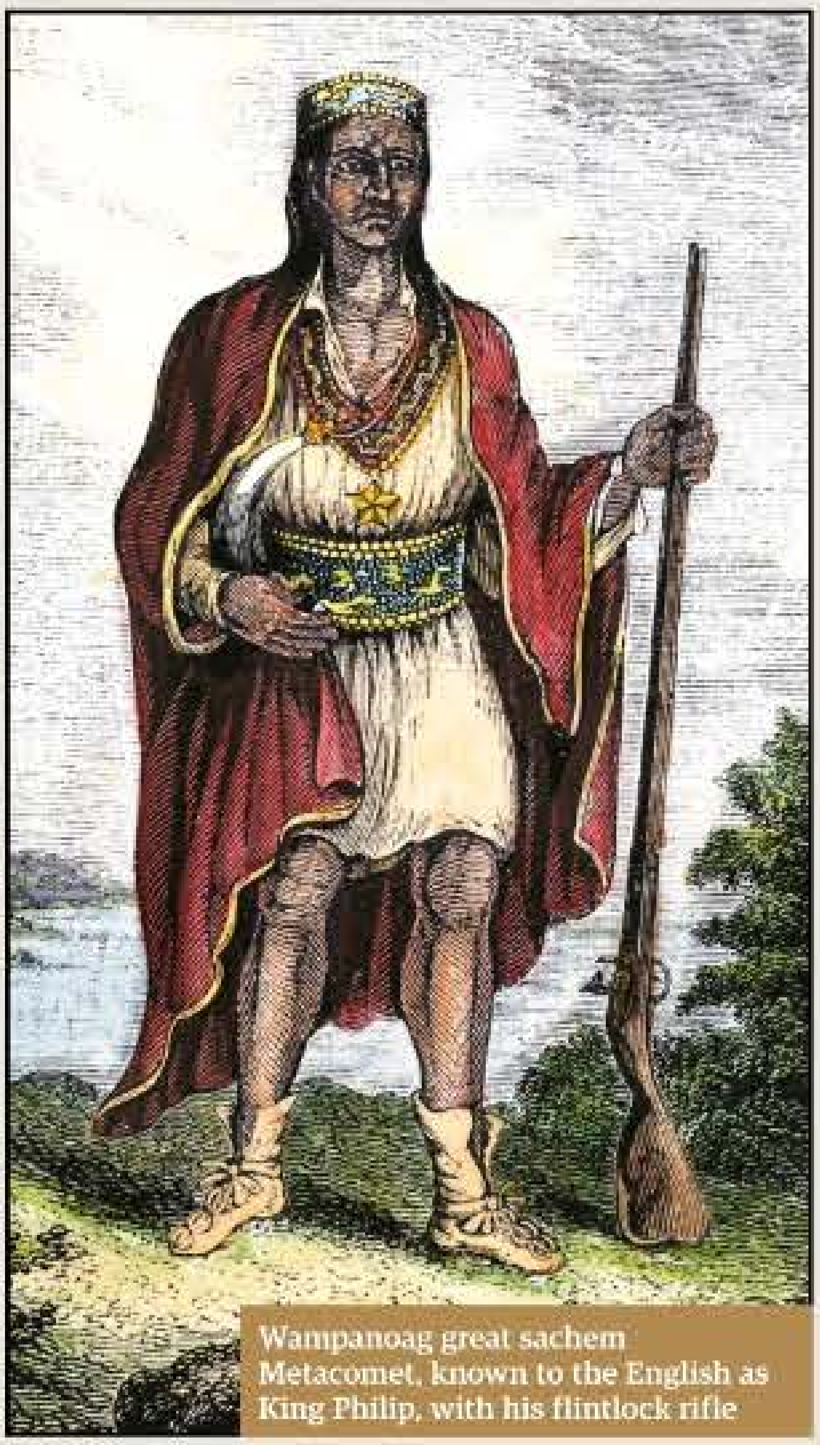
While the Wampanoags were looting Kickemuit, Winslow mustered militia to protect the settlers at Swansea. They did not arrive in time to prevent the bloodshed on 24 June though. Two days afterwards, Massachusetts Bay governor John Leverett mustered militia in the Boston area to assist the Plymouth colonists. Moreover, Leverett tried to contain the spread of rebellion by sending peace emissaries to the Narragansetts, Nipmucks and Niantics. These tribes agreed to remain neutral, but the Nipmucks would soon break their promise.

Philip proceeded with the rebellion, even though it was unfolding before he had a chance to secure alliances. Unfazed by the presence of colonial militia in Swansea, the Wampanoags raided Taunton and Rehoboth.

The Wampanoags' aggression resulted in loud demands by the residents of Plymouth Colony for a strike against Philip's base at Mount Hope Peninsula. On 30 June, Major Thomas Savage of the Massachusetts Bay Colony led a force of several hundred militiamen on a sweep south through the peninsula in search of Philip and his warriors. Savage came up empty-handed though, for the previous day the Pokanoket Wampanoags had paddled their canoes across Mount Hope Bay to join forces with the Pocasset band, which was led by Philip's sister-in-law, Weetamoo.

Philip knew that he would not be able to hold out long if the superior forces of the colonies pinned him against the coast, so he resolved to lead the Wampanoags on a 60-mile forced march to join the Nipmucks. What ensued was a running battle with colonial forces nipping at Philip's heels. A major clash unfolded on 19 July while Philip was still in Pocasset territory. The colonial army attacked the Wampanoags in a strong position in a swamp. Philip's

> "King Philip knew that he would not be able to hold out long if the superior forces of the colonies pinned him against the coast"


Wampanoag great sachem Metacomet, known to the English as King Philip, with his flintlock rifle

The coveted flintlock

King Philip's men showed great skill with the flintlock rifle

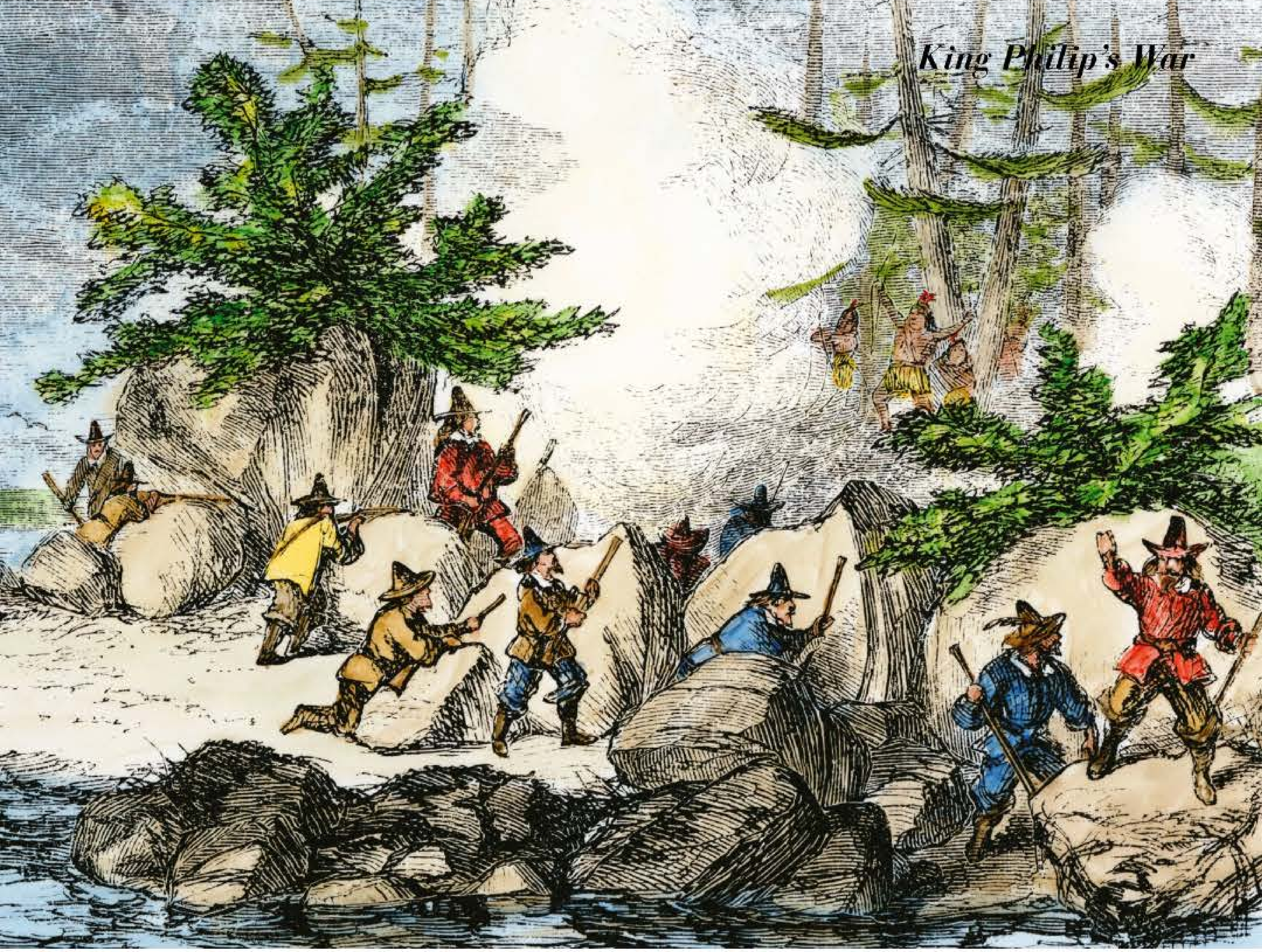
The opposing forces in King Philip's War both used the flintlock musket, a faster-firing weapon than the outdated matchlock rifle. An individual could fire two rounds per minute and strike targets at a distance of up to 100 yards.

The typical militia man in the United Colonies of New England carried a flintlock and a sword or hatchet for close-quarters fighting. His foe used the flintlock musket and bow and arrow, plus clubs, hatchets and knives for hand-to-hand fighting.

When raiding a colonial town or village the Native Americans generally hid behind barns, haystacks or fences. In ambushes in the back country or along well-travelled roads, they often fired a round and then rushed their foe with their striking weapons.

All of the flintlocks possessed by the tribes in southern New England were of English, Dutch or French origin. The English quickly put laws into effect at the beginning of the war banning the sale of flintlocks to Native Americans.

Thus, the Native Americans found that the only way they could acquire additional guns or replenish their ammunition and gunpowder was through plunder. When they switched to the defensive in spring 1676, they found it impossible to restock these items.



warriors were masters of camouflage, and they repulsed several attacks.

The Wampanoags resumed their march, heading west around the top of Narraganset Bay. After crossing the Pawtucket River they were attacked again. Philip lost a substantial number of warriors in the Battle of Nipsachuck on 1 August. The 40 survivors managed to hide in a swamp. Realising that the women and children travelling with him were slowing down his march, Philip asked Weetamoo to lead the non-combatants south to take refuge with the Narragansetts.

Philip reached Nipmuck territory on 6 August. By that time the Nipmucks had joined the rebellion of their own volition. Their entrance into the war transformed it from a local conflict to a regional one.

Frontier bloodshed

Nipmuck sachem Muttawmp ambushed the members of the diplomatic delegation that rode to meet with him and other tribal sachems on 2 August. As Captain Edward Hutchison's delegation rode out of Brookfield that morning the Nipmucks swarmed over them, killing eight members of the party.

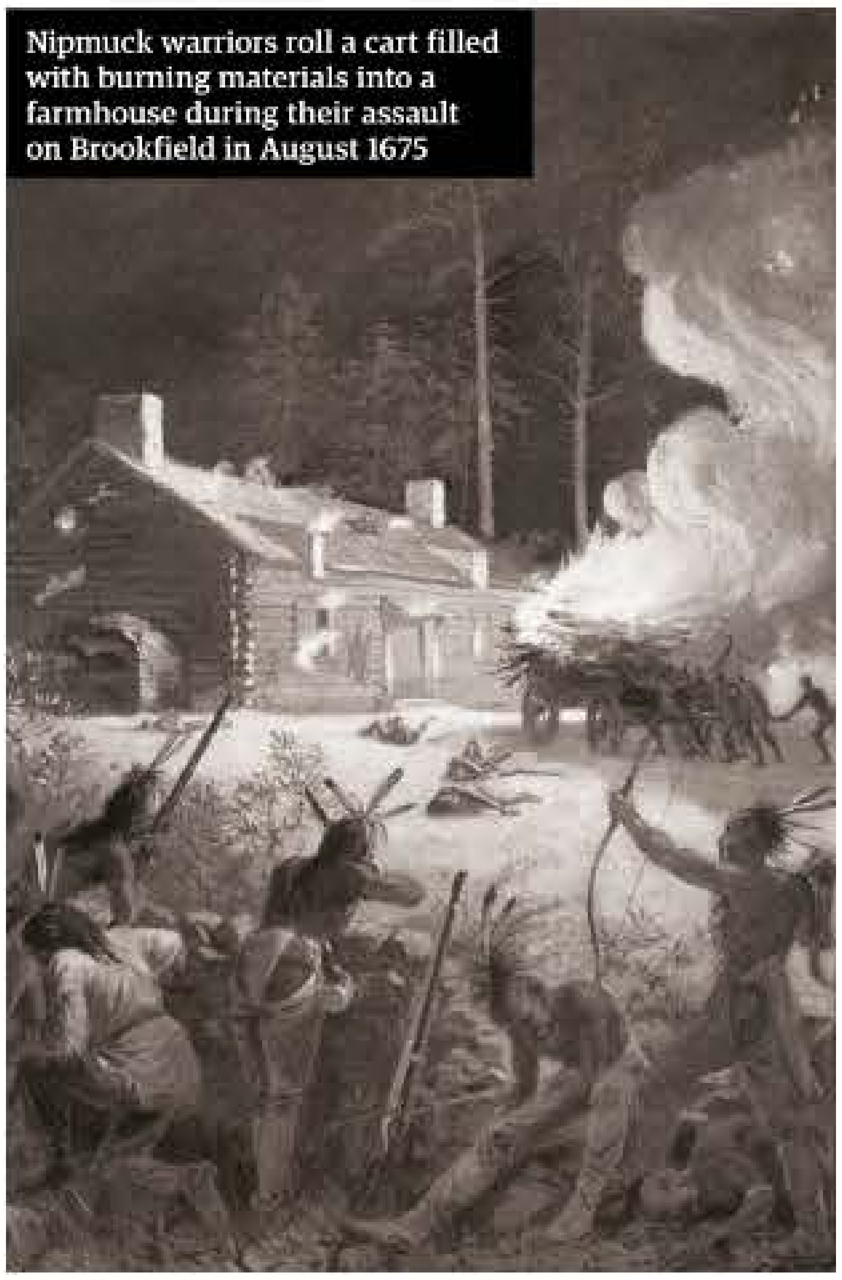
Over the course of the next two months Muttawmp's warriors attacked and burned Massachusetts Bay's frontier towns of Brookfield, Deerfield, Hadley, Northfield and Springfield. The extensive damage, both in physical and psychological terms, so cowed the Massachusetts Bay colonists that several of the towns were not resettled for a decade.

The clash that produced the greatest number of English casualties in a single day during the war occurred on 18 September. Captain Thomas Lathrop was leading a wagon train of refugees south from Deerfield when musket fire rippled from a low ridge. Warriors with painted faces brandishing knives and hatchets streamed down from the ridge. The clash, known as Bloody Brook, resulted in the death of 64 militiamen, one of whom was Lathrop.

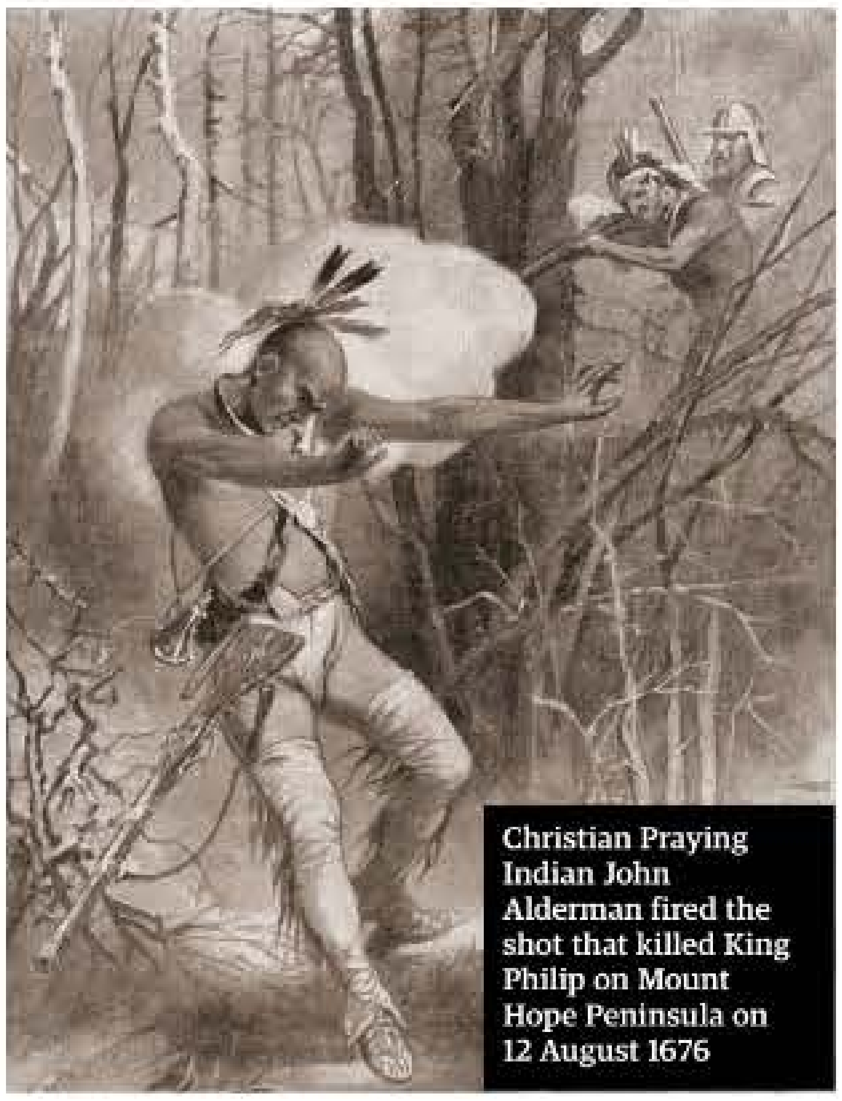
The rebellion continued spreading as several bands of the Abenaki tribe attacked English settlers and traders along the coast of northern New England. Both the Nipmucks and the Abenakis operated independently of the Wampanoags.

Great Swamp fight

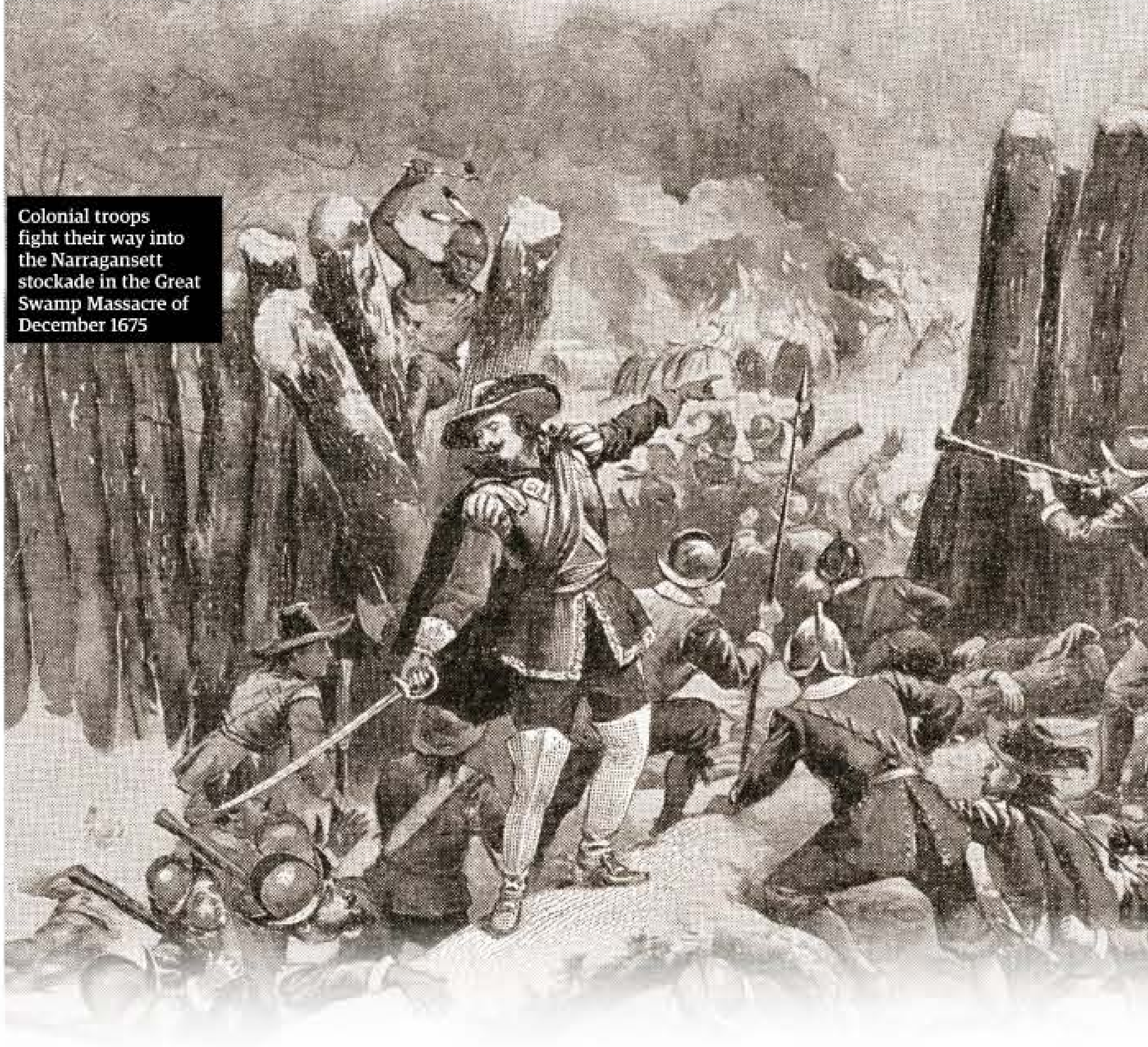
A matter that worried the commissioners of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth at that time was whether the Narraganset tribe intended to join the rebellion. Led by great sachem Canonchet, the Narragansetts were feared before the war by both



Nipmuck warriors roll a cart filled with burning materials into a farmhouse during their assault on Brookfield in August 1675



Christian Praying Indian John Alderman fired the shot that killed King Philip on Mount Hope Peninsula on 12 August 1676



Colonial troops fight their way into the Narragansett stockade in the Great Swamp Massacre of December 1675

rival tribes and the English for they were the largest and most powerful tribe in southern New England.

Representatives from the United Colonies learned from friendly Niantics in October that the Narragansetts intended to go to war the following year. Although winter was nearly upon them, the English believed that it was imperative to launch a pre-emptive strike against the Narragansetts. Plymouth Colony governor Winslow was given command of the 1,000-strong army. A force of 150 Mohegans and Pequots from the Connecticut Colony agreed to fight alongside the English.

When the vanguard under Winslow reached Rehoboth at the head of Narragansett Bay on 14 December it overran two villages. Moving south to Wickford, it encountered Narragansetts who informed them that the tribe had made its winter quarters on a fortified island in a large swamp several miles from the coast. A Narragansett named Peter agreed to lead them to the hideout.

The English attacked the following day during a snowstorm. They had to work their way through a dense barricade of brush to reach the stockade, which was made from thick tree trunks shorn of their branches and sunk vertically into the ground. After reconnoitring the fort, the English found what appeared to be an unfinished section. It was actually a trap to lure the colonial soldiers into a killing zone.

Major Samuel Appleton, who commanded the Massachusetts Bay troops, organised a column to storm the fort. Although the English suffered heavy casualties at the start of the battle, the Narragansetts soon ran low on gunpowder. It was not long after that the English were able to get several hundred soldiers inside the five-acre fort. The soldiers torched the wigwams. Those Narragansetts who were not burned alive or shot trying to escape were taken prisoner.

Winslow's casualties amounted to 70 killed and 150 wounded, compared to the Narragansetts loss of 300 warriors and 300 women and children. The attack compelled the Narragansetts to throw in their lot and join the rebellion.

The tide turns

The situation for the United Colonies began to improve as the war dragged on into 1676. A great boon to the United Colonies was the agreement by five friendly tribes to assist the English. These Native American allies contributed significantly not only as additional troops but also as scouts who could deliver valuable intelligence.

While the English were gaining allies, Philip suffered a major setback in his efforts to get additional arms and gunpowder. He journeyed to the Hudson River Valley in late December 1675 in an effort to obtain supplies from either Dutch or French

Timeline of King Philip's War

20 June 1675

Raid on Swansea

Wampanoag warriors plunder the settlement of Swansea in Plymouth Colony, sparking five days of unrest during which the first blood is drawn. Plymouth militia rushes to Swansea to protect the besieged settlers.

1 August 1675

Battle of Nipsachuck

King Philip's army was marching to Nipmuck territory when it was overtaken by English and Mohegan troops, forcing Philip to abandon men and baggage. After hiding in a swamp, the Wampanoag resumed their march.

2-3 August 1675

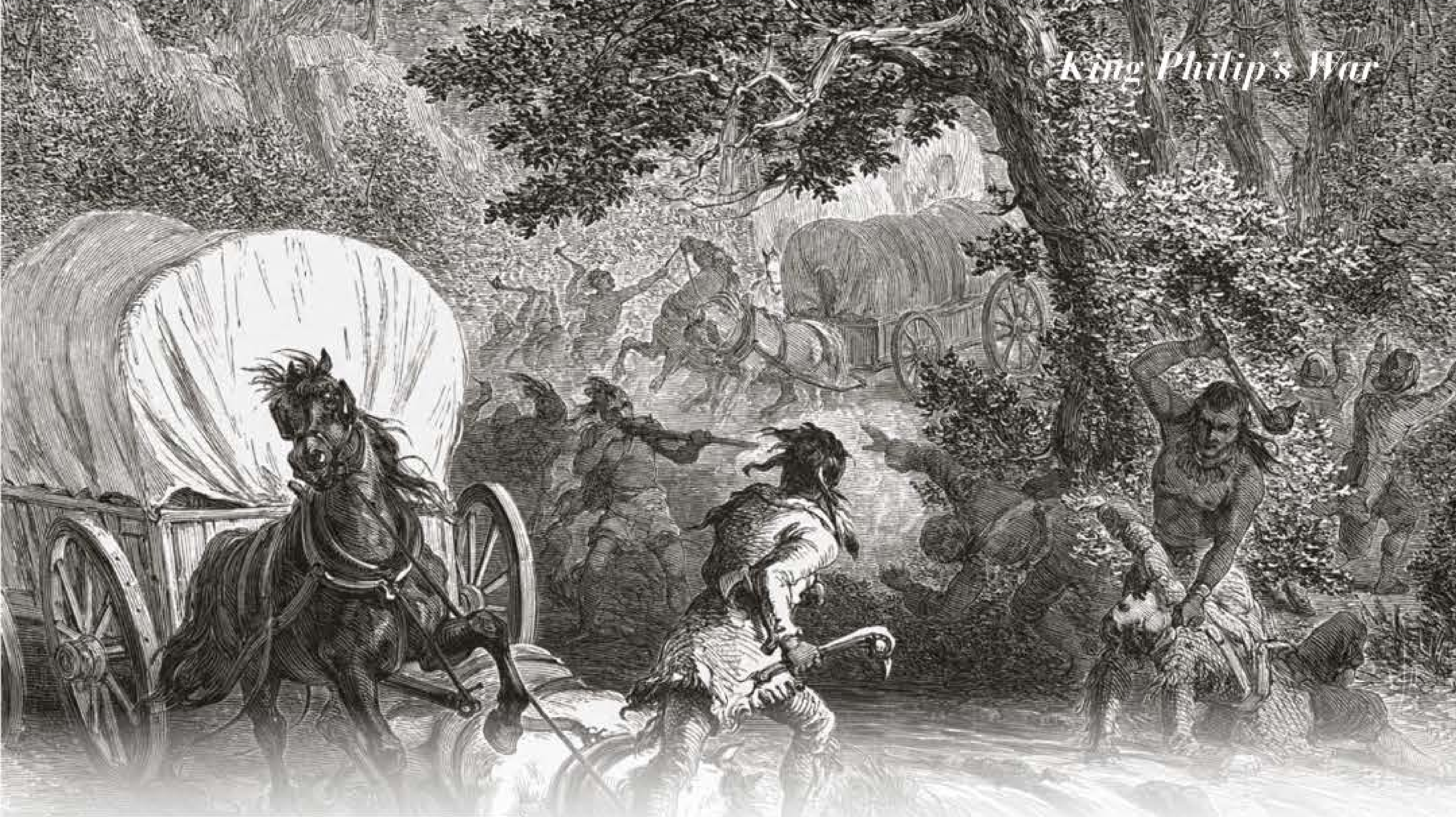
Nipmucks besiege Brookfield

The Nipmucks launched repeated attacks over the course of three days on the village of Brookfield in the western part of the colony. However, they were forced to break contact when reinforcements arrived.

5 October 1675

Foray against Springfield

The Nipmucks attacked Springfield in the Connecticut River Valley. As the settlers cowered in a blockhouse the warriors destroyed 57 homes and barns.



Nipmucks armed with war clubs slaughter militiamen and teamsters escorting refugees away from Deerfield in September 1675 in an engagement called Bloody Brook

traders. In so doing, he entered into English territory, for the English had taken New York in 1664.

New York governor Edmund Andros told his Mohawk friends to drive off the Wampanoags. In late February they launched a surprise attack on King Philip's warriors, inflicting substantial casualties. When the Mohawks arrived in Albany on 4 March with many Wampanoag scalps Andros was greatly pleased. Philip led his cowed warriors back to the Connecticut Valley.

When Philip subsequently learned that his wife and nine-year-old son had been apprehended by the English and sold as slaves, he decided to return to his home on Mount Hope Peninsula. By that time the English had organised a special company of 400 Praying Indians, who acted as rangers.

When colonial authorities learned of Philip's whereabouts they sent Captain Benjamin Church with a group of Praying Indians to search Mount Hope village at the tip of the peninsula. On 12 August 1676, John Alderman, one of the Indians in the patrol, spotted King Philip. Alderman shot and killed him. Philip's dead body was decapitated and his skull displayed on a pike in Plymouth for 20 years.

The death of King Philip ended the war in southern New England, however, the Abenakis continued fighting for nearly two more years. The war ended in the north when the English negotiated a treaty with the Abenakis in April 1678.

Costly conflict

A total of 9,000 English and Native Americans had perished during the war. Five per cent of the English population of New England had been killed, and 40 per cent of the Native American population of the region had died. The war reduced the Wampanoag tribe to 400 people.

King Philip's charisma had united his tribe behind him, but the premature start of the war prevented him from putting in place the alliances he had sought to establish. From the very start he was thrust on the defensive, trying to keep his tribe from being annihilated by the much stronger English. The piecemeal attacks by the Wampanoag, Nipmucks and Narragansetts doomed the rebellion to failure. Once the English had recovered from the initial shock and shored up their defences they were able to snuff out the flame of war.

19 December 1675

Great Swamp Fight

Plymouth Colony militia attacked the Narragansetts in a stockade hidden in a swamp. The attack, which was the first major defeat for the Wampanoag Confederacy, crippled the Narragansett tribe.

12 March 1676

Strike at Plymouth plantation

A force of Wampanoags and Narragansetts made an attack deep into the heart of Plymouth Colony when they struck William Clark's garrison house at Eel River just three miles south of Plymouth.

12 August 1676

Death of King Philip

Captain Benjamin Church and his Praying Indians tracked down King Philip at Miery Swamp. John Alderman fired the shot that killed Philip, thereby ending the war that had been raging in southern New England.

12 April 1678

English negotiate peace

The English negotiated peace with the Abenaki bands that had continued fighting in northern New England after the death of King Philip.

The decline of Plymouth Colony

WORDS BY: *Mike Haskew*

Several factors conspired to bring about the end of Plymouth Colony in the late 17th century

William Bradford, governor of Plymouth Colony on an intermittent basis for more than 30 years and its foremost political leader for a generation, once said that residents of the colony were free to attend Church, specifically the Separatist Pilgrims' Church, as often as they desired. The colony recognised no other religious doctrine.

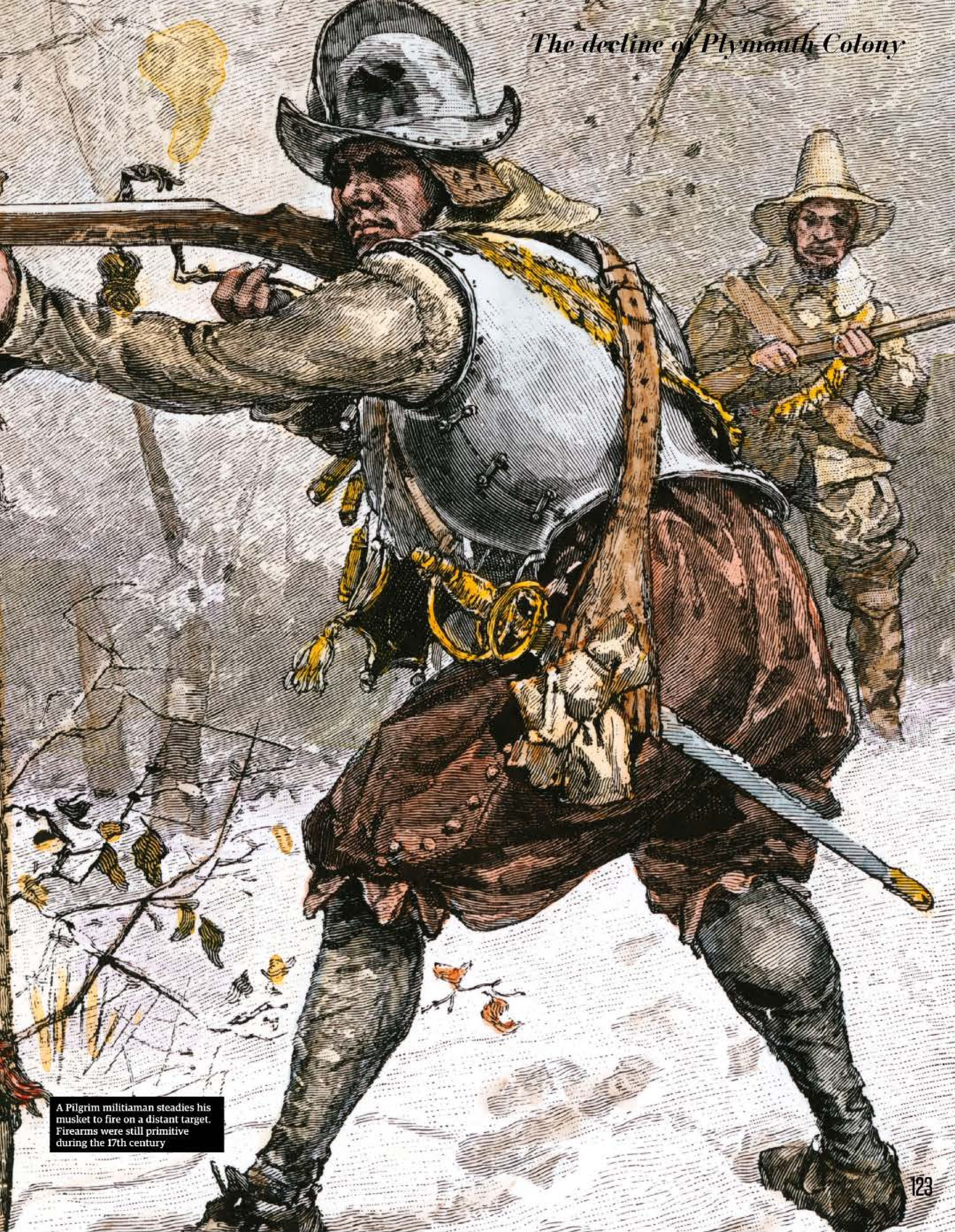
Religious intolerance was only one factor that contributed to the demise of the Plymouth Colony, the second permanent English settlement in North America and the first in New England. The Pilgrims had sought separation from the Church of England along with the opportunity to worship without interference. However, they chose not to extend this freedom to others, and examples of systemic religious persecution abound.

Governor Bradford and the Pilgrim religious leaders banished Reverend John Lyford, a Puritan clergyman who actually sympathised with the Church of England, from the colony. Others left Plymouth on religious grounds, including prominent citizen Roger Conant, who became the leader of a fishing community at Gloucester. Thomas Morton's Anglican settlement at Mount Wollaston, later called Merrymount, was labelled a 'school of atheism', and Morton was hounded by a military expedition under Myles Standish, who threatened to kill the dissenter. Despite no jurisdiction, the Pilgrims dragged Morton into court in Plymouth, where he narrowly escaped a death sentence and was deported to England.

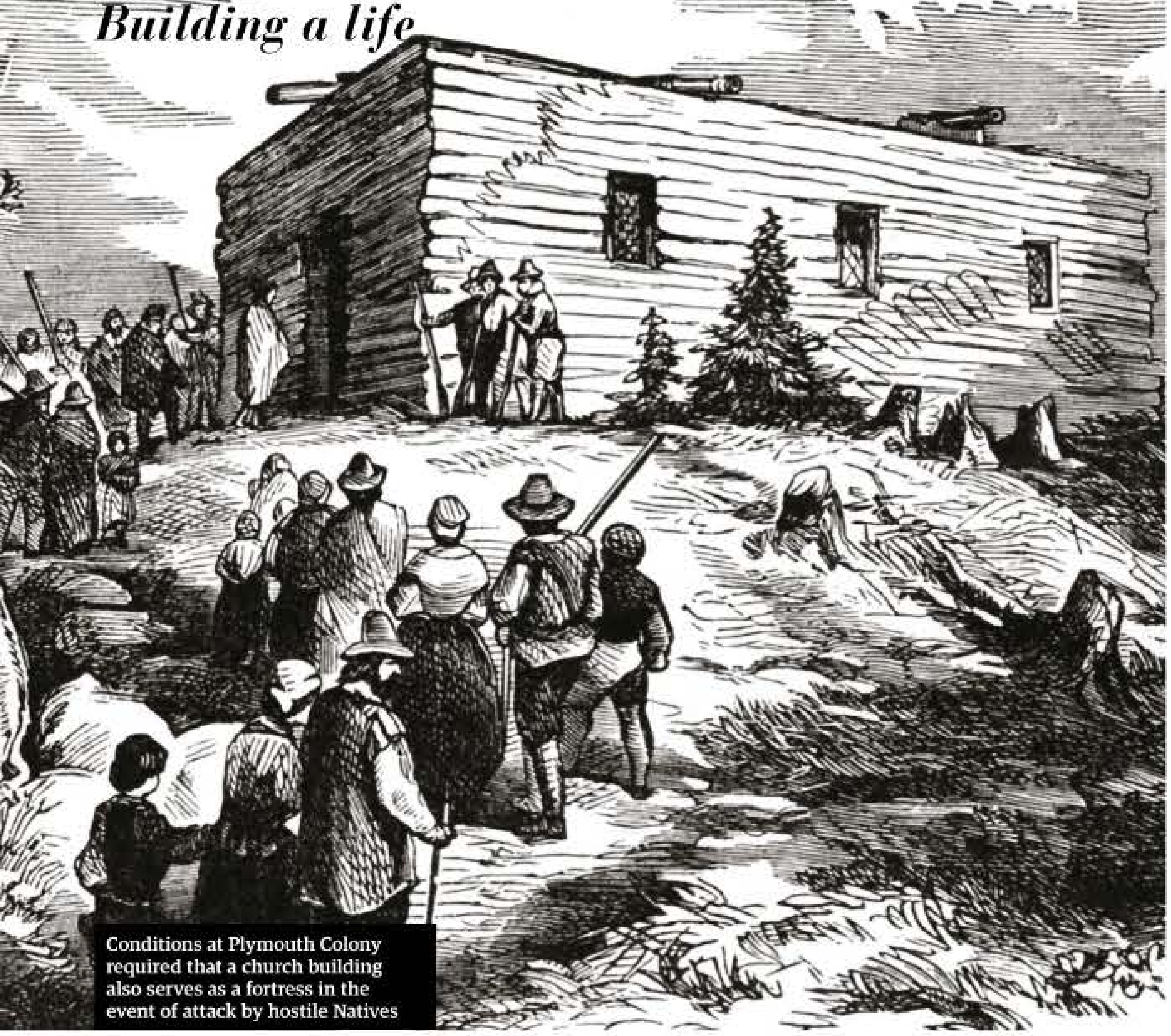
At the same time, economic viability in Plymouth was threatened after 1630 by the emergence of the large, prosperous Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north. Other colonies were established during the 1630s and 1640s, and began to compete with Plymouth in the lucrative trade of beaver pelts, timber and cattle. A reason for their success involves Governor Bradford's preference for Plymouth's 'old comer' Pilgrims and desire to reserve exclusive trading rights for them as long as possible.

Immigration from England continued during the period, although larger numbers of colonists coming to the New World chose to settle elsewhere rather than within the strictures of Plymouth's Pilgrim oligarchy, which disregarded much of the authority of its representative assembly. By 1630, the population of Plymouth was only around 400, and as settlers arrived in America in the following decade, the population of Massachusetts Bay swelled to more than 20,000. In 1643, Plymouth could count only 600 men eligible for militia service, yielding an estimated total population of about 2,000. By 1691, when the colony was absorbed into Massachusetts Bay, its population was only about 7,000.

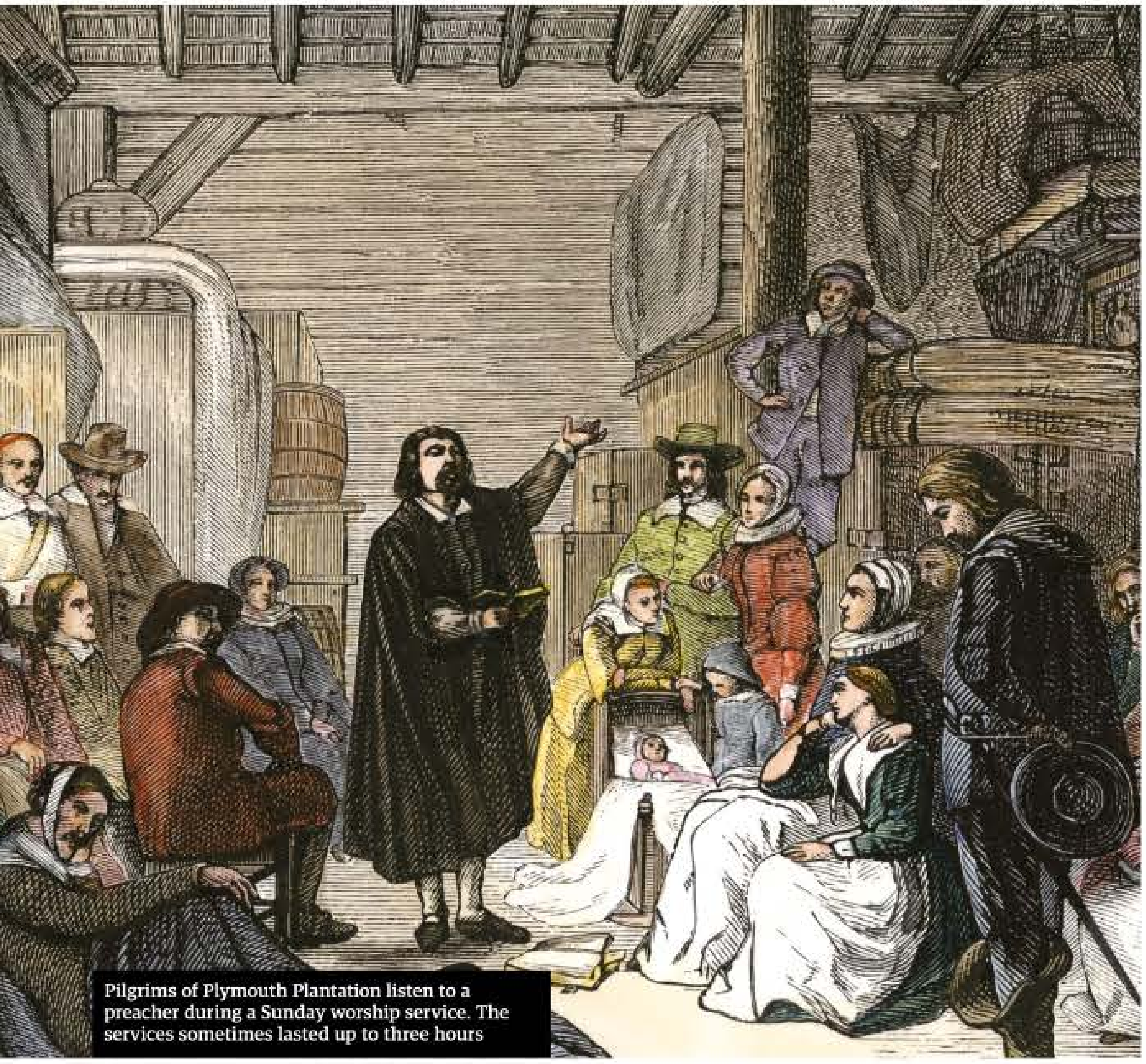
Perhaps the most troubling aspect of Plymouth's 70-year existence lay with the growing threat



A Pilgrim militiaman steadies his musket to fire on a distant target. Firearms were still primitive during the 17th century



Conditions at Plymouth Colony required that a church building also serves as a fortress in the event of attack by hostile Natives



Pilgrims of Plymouth Plantation listen to a preacher during a Sunday worship service. The services sometimes lasted up to three hours

of war with the Native Americans. At first, the relationship between the Pilgrims and the Native Americans had been generally friendly. If it wasn't for Squanto, Samoset and Massasoit, the Pilgrims would probably not have survived their first winter in America. However, as the number of immigrants and encroachment on Native American lands increased, war was inevitable. The Pequot War of 1636-37 had a detrimental effect on Plymouth's economy, and further conflict was certain.

Puritan success in the English Civil War slowed the Great Migration and eroded Plymouth's population growth even more. With that slowdown, a collapse of the cattle trade with Massachusetts Bay occurred, precipitating a downward economic spiral from which the colony would never fully recover. Still, settlements stretched outward from the original Plymouth town. In 1644, a group of colonists ventured to Nauset on Cape Cod and established a village, while in 1649 the colony purchased a tract of land west of the town from Chief Massasoit and named it Bridgewater.

On 2 June 1685, Plymouth Colony was formally divided into three counties. Barnstable County on Cape Cod included the settlements of Barnstable, Eastham, Falmouth, Rochester, Sandwich and Yarmouth. Bristol County, along Narragansett Bay and Buzzards Bay on the border of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in the west, encompassed the villages of Taunton, Bristol, Dartmouth, Freetown, Little Compton, Rehoboth and Swansea. On the western edge of Cape Cod Bay, Plymouth County was home to Plymouth town, Bridgewater, Duxbury, Marshfield, Middleborough and Scituate.

Although Plymouth Colony had participated in relatively little of the actual fighting in the Pequot War, and its leaders had condemned the actions of Massachusetts Bay that contributed to the eruption of the conflict, the aftermath of the bloodshed brought about a realisation that future cooperation would be necessary for the defence of the colonies. In May 1643, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven ratified the New England Articles of Confederation, an alliance principally formed in response to the threat of another war with the Native Americans. The United Colonies of New England, also known as the New England Confederation, came into being on 19 May.

Although several proposals for such an alliance had been previously discussed, it was a call from Plymouth in the autumn of 1642 that finally brought these colonies together. By 1665, New Haven had been annexed into Connecticut, and intolerance of the religious freedoms expressed in Rhode Island under Roger Williams caused the organisers to turn a deaf ear to that colony's pleas to join the alliance.

The New England Confederation was intended to be a "firme and perpetual league of friendship and amytie." Provisions for mutual defence and for the return of runaway indentured servants and the prosecution of criminals were enacted. Each of the four member colonies sent two delegates to the Confederation's annual meeting, and any measure required six votes for approval. However, differences and petty grievances soon emerged, particularly when Massachusetts Bay was forced to agree to commit 100 troops in time of emergency because of its size, while the others were required to send only 45. Self-interests emerged, even though each colony was expected to avoid war with the Native Americans or neighbouring Dutch if possible, and a defined weakness undermined the Confederation's effectiveness. It existed in an advisory capacity only. Real power lay with the colonial assemblies.

Nevertheless, in 1650 the New England Confederation did succeed in negotiating a treaty recognising a well-defined border between New England and the Dutch New Netherlands. Leaders also bargained with the Native American tribes, playing one against the other and offering alliances that benefitted the colonists.

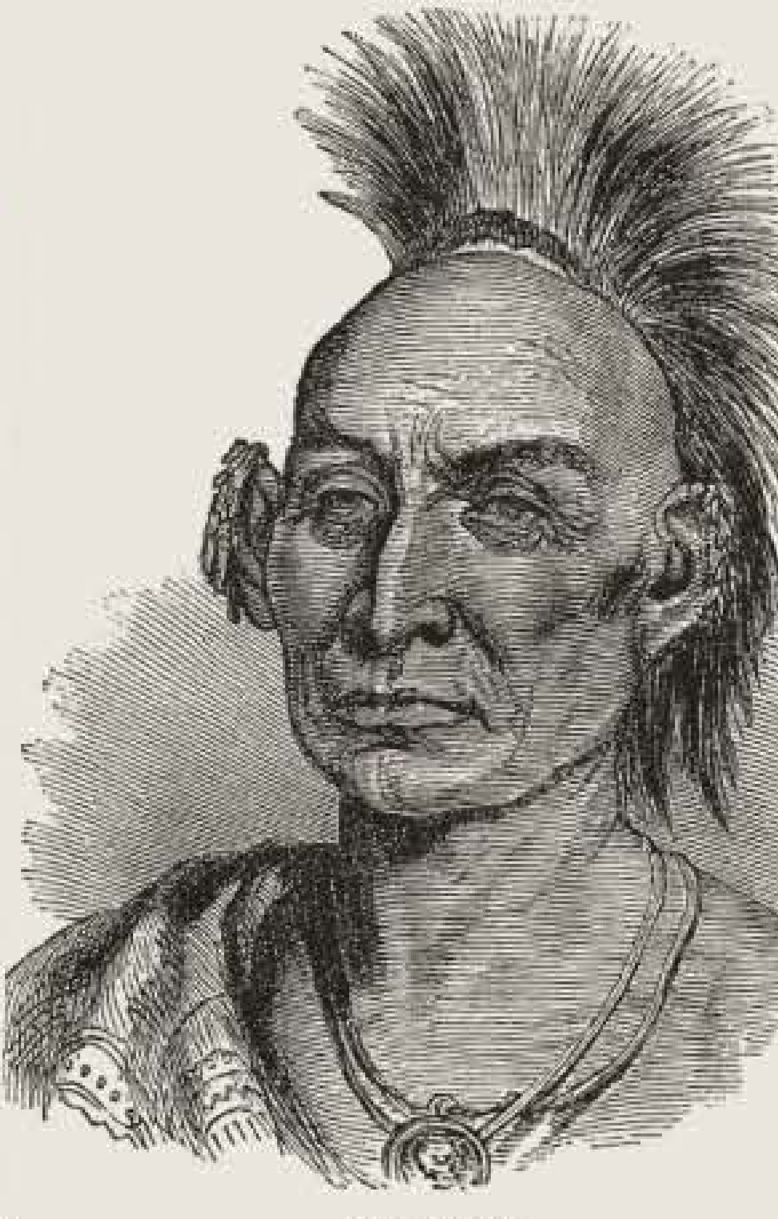
The first Anglo-Dutch War broke out in 1652, and while Connecticut and New Haven believed their safety was threatened, Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth disagreed, and declined to send military assistance. The proposal for support of Connecticut and New Haven failed when the delegates deadlocked in a 4-4 vote, revealing the true depth of their inability to exert authority. Connecticut steadily infringed on New Haven's territory and sovereignty, but the Confederation did nothing to dissuade the land grab. The lack of a cohesive policy was evident, and by 1664 a royal commission had directed a reformation of the body. Further activities then centred on relations with the Native Americans and efforts to convert them to Christianity.

The murder of John Sassamon

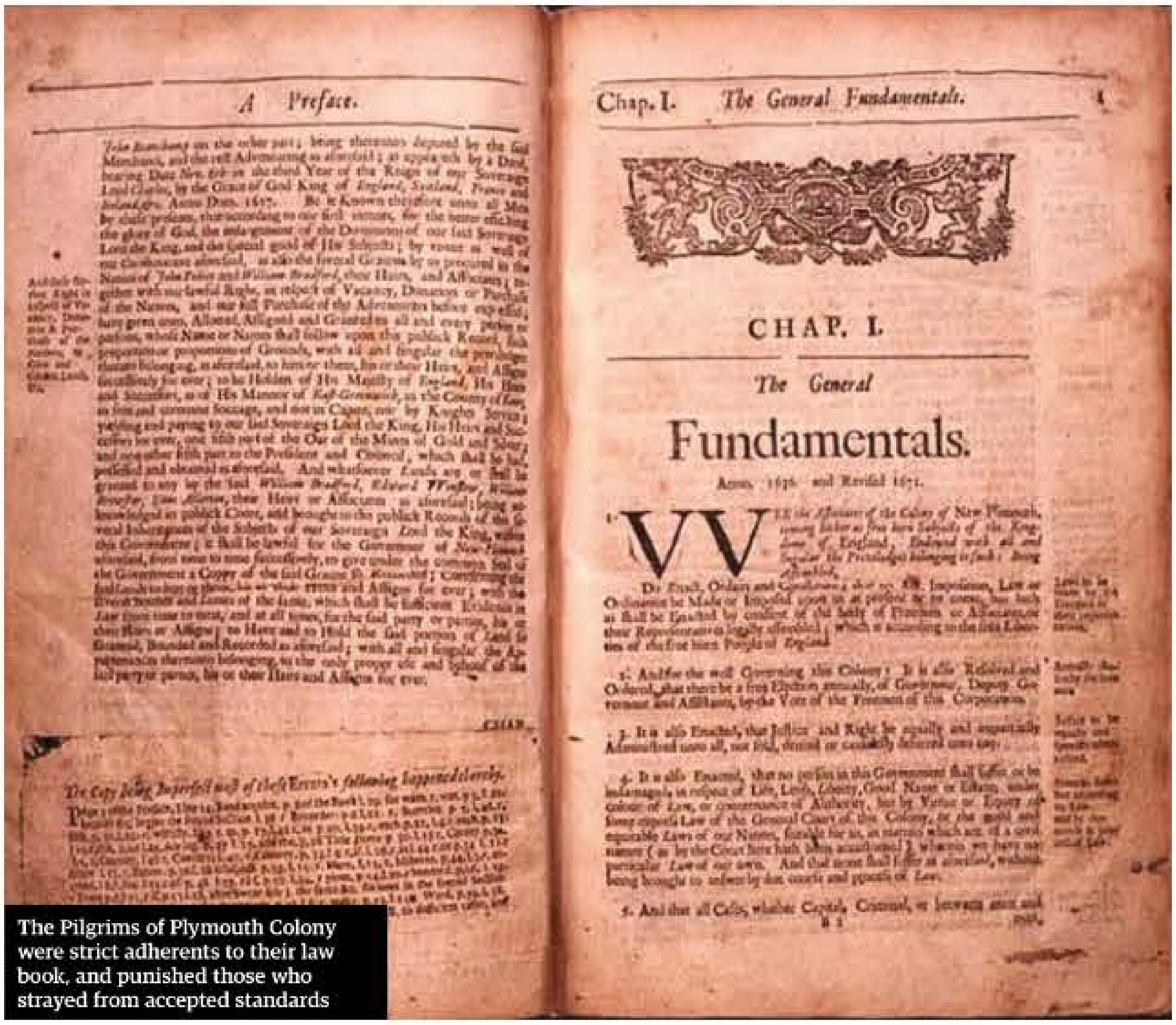
The killing that contributed to the eruption of King Philip's War

Threats had been tossed back and forth for some time. Metacomet, also known as Philip, second son of the late Massasoit and now chief of the Pokanoket tribe and the Wampanoag people, did not maintain the friendly relations that had once been prevalent with the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony. Land and trade disputes had become commonplace. Metacomet's older brother, Wamsutta, known as Alexander to the Pilgrims, had become chief after the death of Massasoit, but he too had died - and under mysterious circumstances. Enter John Sassamon, a Native American who had converted to Christianity and served as a mediator between the two antagonistic sides.

Sassamon warned the Plymouth leaders that Metacomet planned an attack against the colony. Metacomet was brought to court and accused. He was then released due to lack of evidence, but warned that Native weapons and land would be confiscated if the rumours persisted. Sometime later, Sassamon's body was found in Assawompset Pond. At first, his death was thought to be an accident, but his neck was later discovered to have been oddly twisted. Eventually, three Wampanoag Native Americans were tried before a jury of 12 colonists and six Natives. Convicted of murder, they were hanged on 8 June 1675. The incident contributed directly to the eruption of King Philip's War.


King Philip.

King Philip led a bloody war against the Puritan settlers of New England that lasted three years and crippled Plymouth Colony



A Preface.

Chap. I. The General Fundamentals. 1

CHAP. I.

The General

Fundamentals.

Anno 1636 and Revised 1671.

The Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony were strict adherents to their law book, and punished those who strayed from accepted standards

Lacking authority to mandate any specific course of action, the relevance of the Confederation waned from the 1650s. Revised articles were signed in 1672, but the body remained essentially impotent.

The eruption of King Philip's War in 1675 breathed new life into the New England Confederation, which coordinated efforts among the colonies to marshal militia and other resources, but as the conflict became one of attrition, its responsibilities devolved to the individual colonies. When the war was over, the last official business of the Confederation involved settling related colonial debt. Records of Confederation activities conclude in 1684, concurrent with the dissolution of the Massachusetts Charter by decree of King Charles II. Delegates met once again in 1689, hoping to draft new articles; however, they failed to reach consensus.

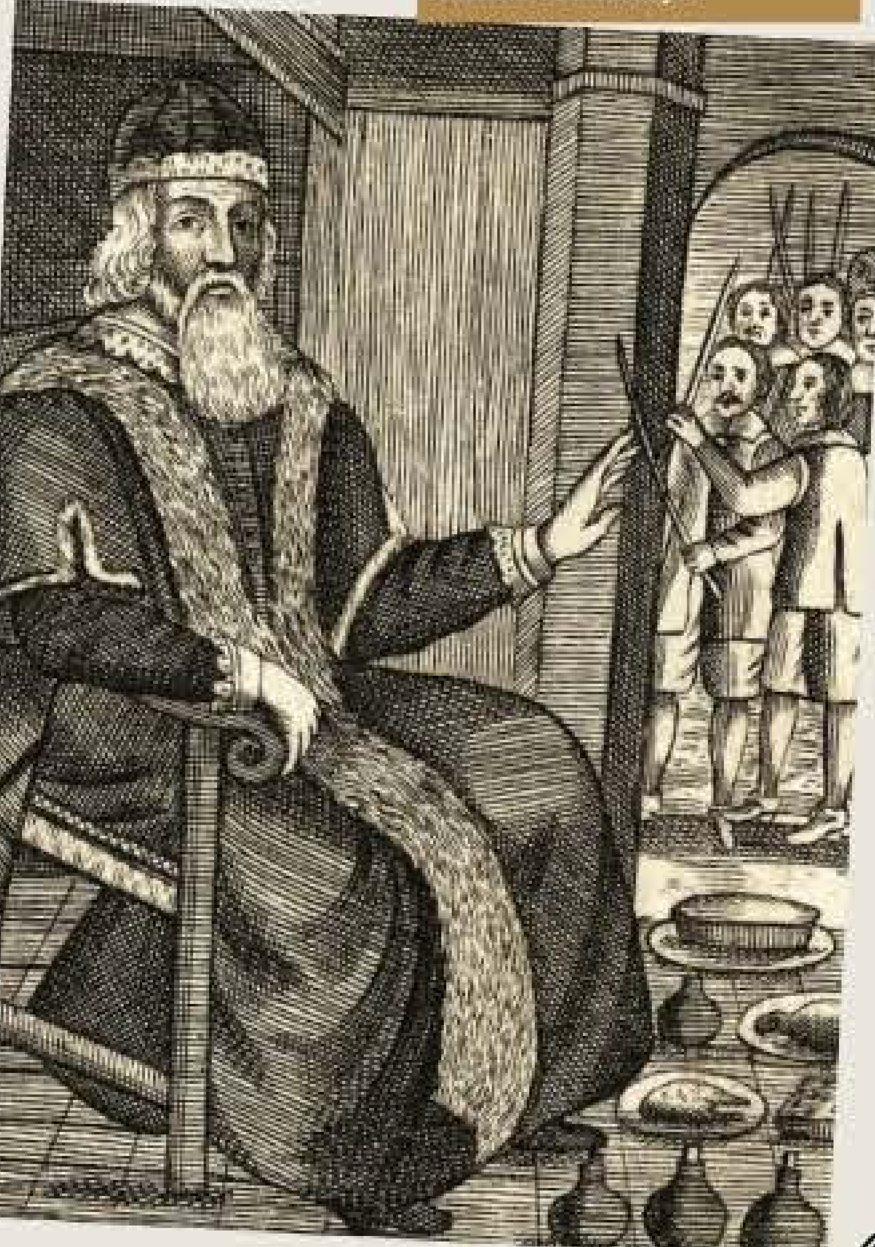
Even before King Philip's War brought devastation and economic disruption, the English Crown had turned its eyes toward the long-neglected North American colonies. Charles II realised that the colonies had been operating quite independently and with their own interests superseding those of the mother country. In 1664, England sent four commissioners to evaluate the state of affairs in Plymouth, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and the following year the leaders of Plymouth directly petitioned them for a royal charter in the hopes of remaining viable while nearby Massachusetts asserted greater political and economic domination of all New England.

An aversion to holidays

The changing view of national celebrations

Puritan antipathy towards the Anglican Church and other Christian religious institutions even included a condemnation of holidays. The Pilgrims ignored Christmas, for example, spending their first in the New World as they would any other day: working. Puritan leaders railed against the raucous celebrations that accompanied the observances of Christmas during the period, calling it a concoction of the Roman Catholic Church and a thinly veiled pagan celebration. The hanging of evergreen in homes was strictly prohibited, and preachers referred to Christmas as 'Foolstide'.

When a group of those who did not follow the Pilgrim example declined to work on 25 December 1621, Plymouth governor William Bradford allowed them to remain idle, reportedly until they became "better informed." When Bradford returned from the forest that day, he found the group celebrating and playing games outdoors. The governor wrote later: "...that was against his conscience, that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of Christmas a devotion, let them keep their houses; but there should be no gaming or reveling in the streets." Bradford took their games away, but strict Pilgrim laws concerning holidays ended in 1691 when Plymouth was merged with Massachusetts Bay under a royal charter.

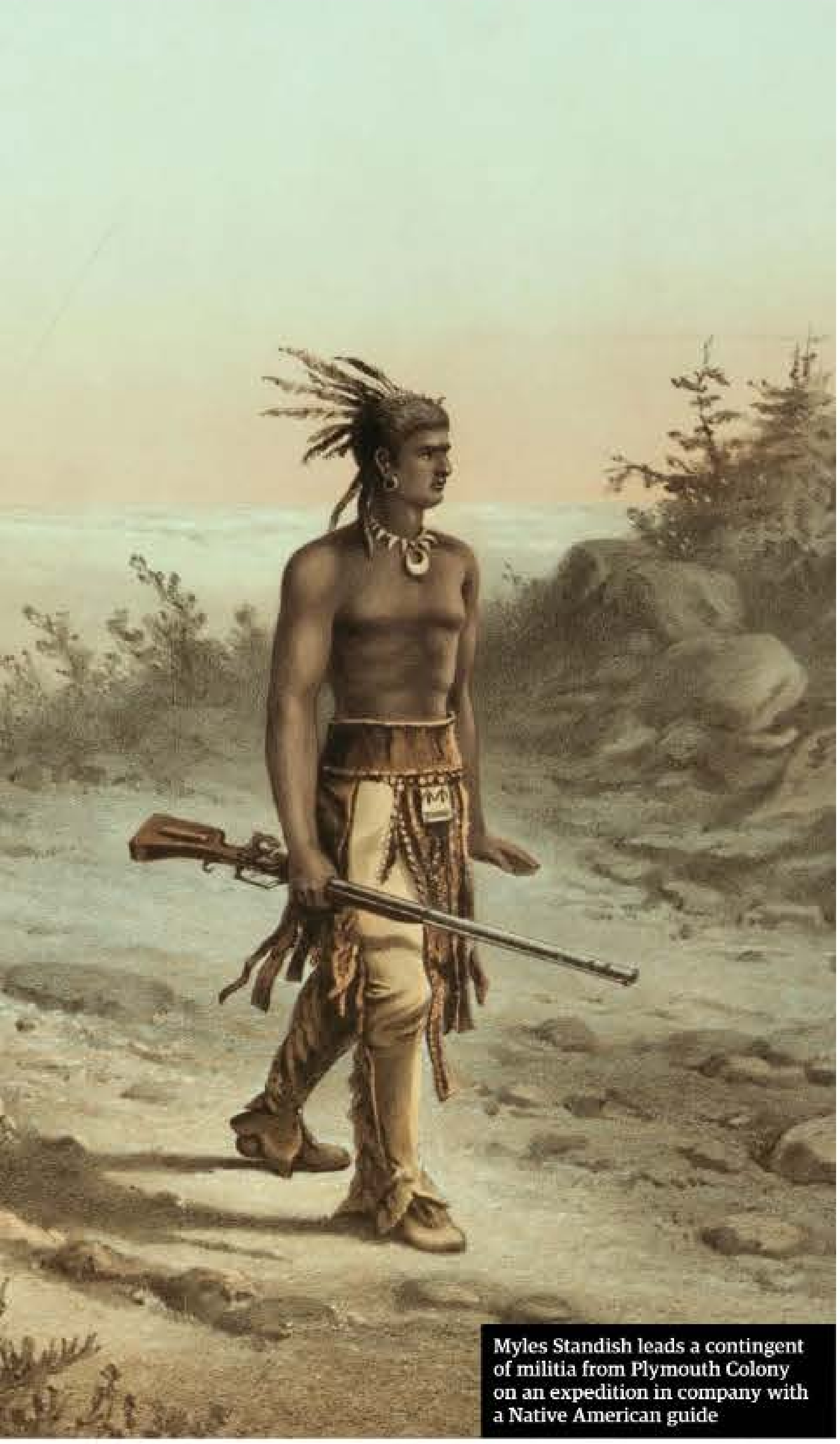


This image from 1686 is titled *The Examination and Tryal of Father Christmas,* illustrating the Pilgrims' dislike of holidays

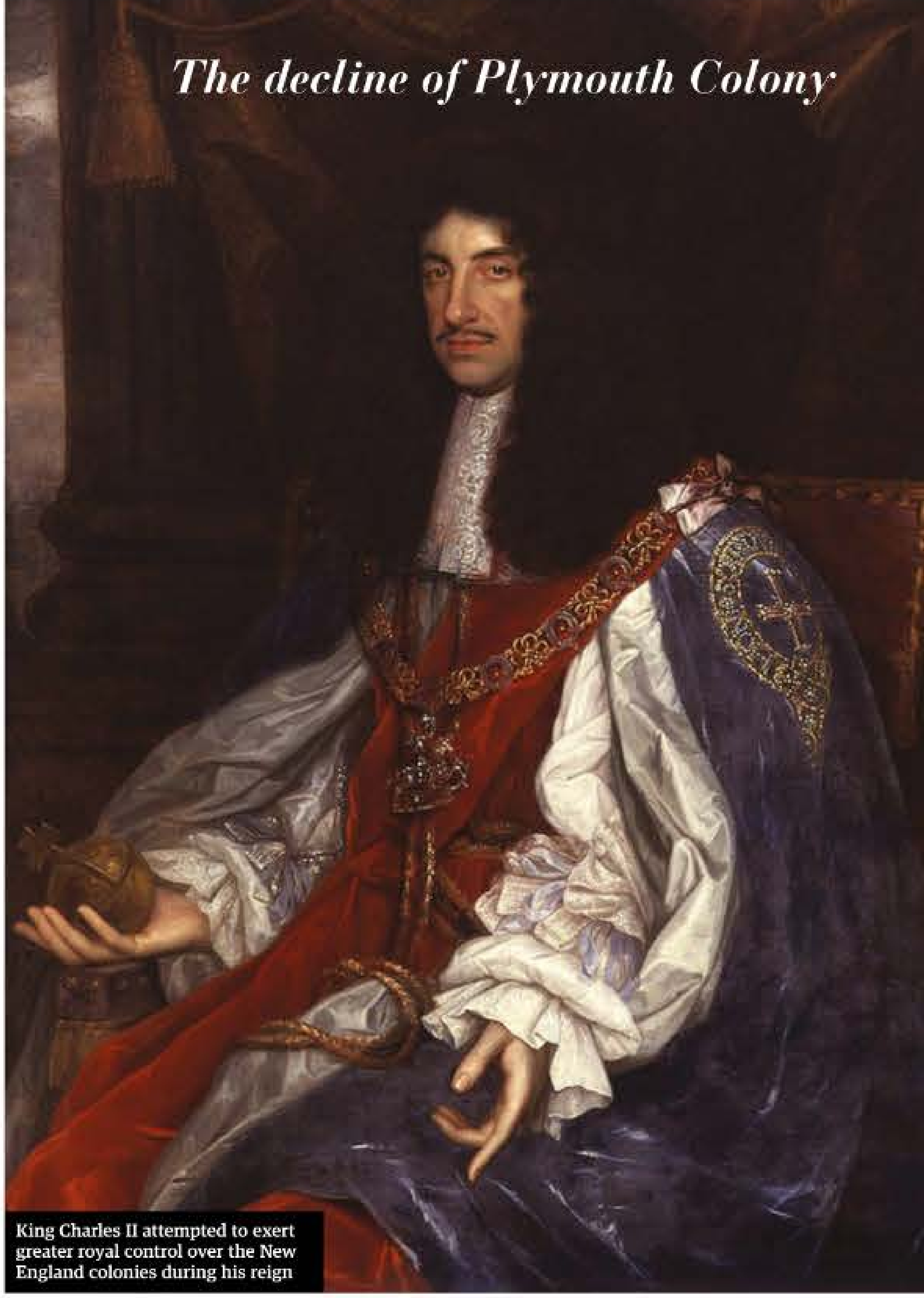
In exchange for the rights and privileges such a charter would afford them, the Pilgrim leaders were told that they would be required to accept a governor appointed by the king. The commissioners presented a list of three prospective governors, the chosen one to serve a term up to five years. Plymouth rejected the proposal, and the commissioners returned to England with an unfavourable impression of the colony's willingness to bend to royal authority.

For Plymouth, King Philip's War was costly in losses of life, property and treasure, as the colony struggled to finance the expense on the backs of a depleted tax base. Further, relations with England remained cold, particularly after Plymouth's treatment of its one-time Native American allies was identified as a primary cause of the terrible war.

When Plymouth governor Charles Hinckley sent his deputy, James Cudworth, to London in 1680, the diplomat's primary objective was to secure a royal charter. Cudworth died soon after arriving in England, and Hinckley's effort to draft another ambassador, Ichabod Wiswall, failed when Wiswall's Duxbury Church voted against his release for the mission. Plymouth, it appeared, was destined to wither without the benefit of a royal charter, and



Myles Standish leads a contingent of militia from Plymouth Colony on an expedition in company with a Native American guide



King Charles II attempted to exert greater royal control over the New England colonies during his reign

"It ended in disaster, as 22 of the 200 Plymouth men were killed, taxes were again increased to foot the bill, inflation soared, and the people at times refused to pay their levies"

its concerns were compounded when King Charles turned his attention to Massachusetts Bay.

The prosperity achieved in Massachusetts Bay was a catalyst for sweeping change in New England and yet another escalation of the Crown's involvement in colonial affairs. Massachusetts Bay had achieved economic success partially through ignoring the Navigation Acts that regulated trade for the benefit of England. When the colony vigorously opposed the Crown's attempts to modify its charter, Charles II responded by revoking the charter altogether in 1684.

That same year, London consolidated Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island and New York into the Dominion of New England. The semi-autonomous colonial governments were abolished, replaced with royal governors and legislative councils. Much stricter enforcement of English law commenced, and land titles were vested in the Crown. A new wave of religious tolerance began, and the Puritan and Pilgrim holds on society began to noticeably ebb.

The first royal governor of New England, Joseph Dudley, implemented his new authority while declining to enforce some measures. However, when James II ascended the English throne, he dispatched a new governor, Edward Andros, to America. The reins of government tightened, new taxes were levied, and public gatherings were curbed. The colonists recoiled from such perceived oppression, and incidents of civil unrest became common.

Then, in a dramatic turn of events, the Glorious Revolution brought William and Mary to the throne in 1689. The colonies seized the opportunity to reinstate self-rule, proclaiming these changes were in the names of the new monarchs. Andros was packed off to England.

Plymouth took part in the restoration of self-rule, but then another calamity befell the colony. War erupted between England and France, and in 1690 Plymouth committed troops to a campaign against the enemy stronghold in Quebec. It ended in disaster, as 22 of the 200 Plymouth men were killed, taxes were again increased to foot the bill, inflation soared, and the people at times refused to pay their levies. Chaos loomed.

Finally, William and Mary began to assess the situation in the colonies. Influential Massachusetts Bay envoy Increase Mather planted seeds of doubt regarding the ability of Plymouth to effectively govern itself, and advised the Crown that if Plymouth desired a royal charter it should immediately pay the fees associated with the grant. As the end neared, there were three paths forward for Plymouth Colony: continuation under a royal charter or annexation by either Massachusetts Bay or New York.

Plymouth suffered from a lack of effective leadership, and in 1691, with little more than a collective whimper of protest, was absorbed into Massachusetts Bay, ending 70 years of independence.

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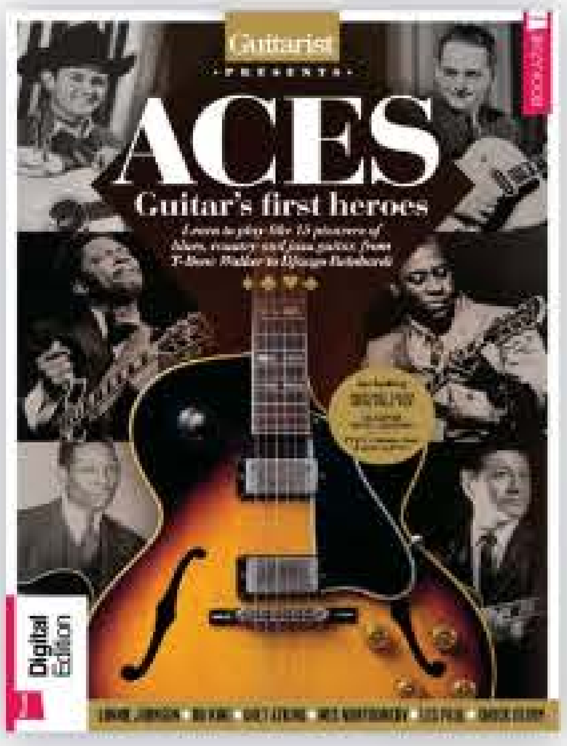
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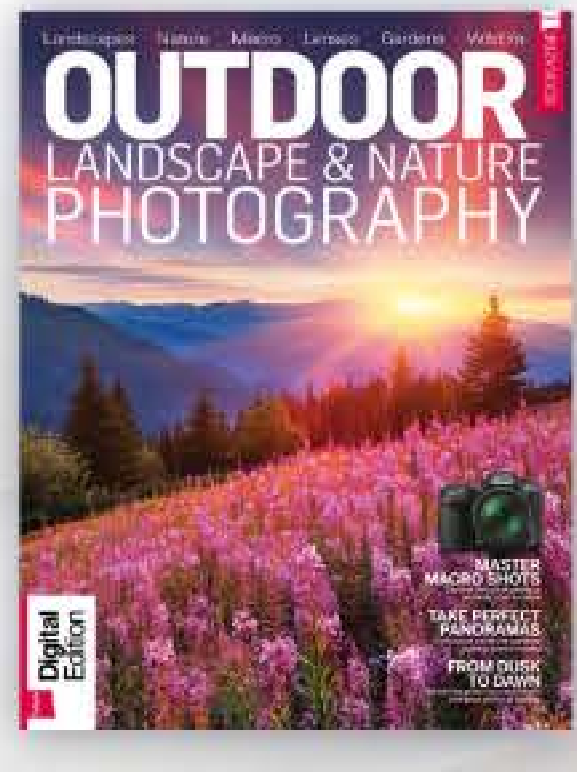
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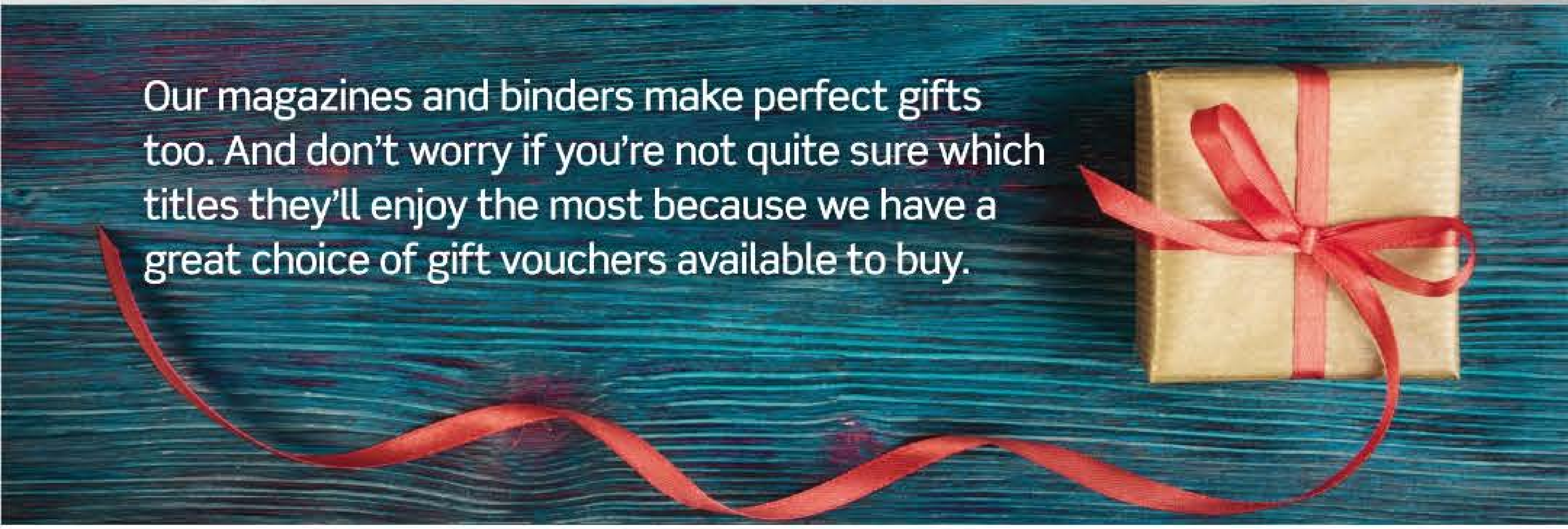

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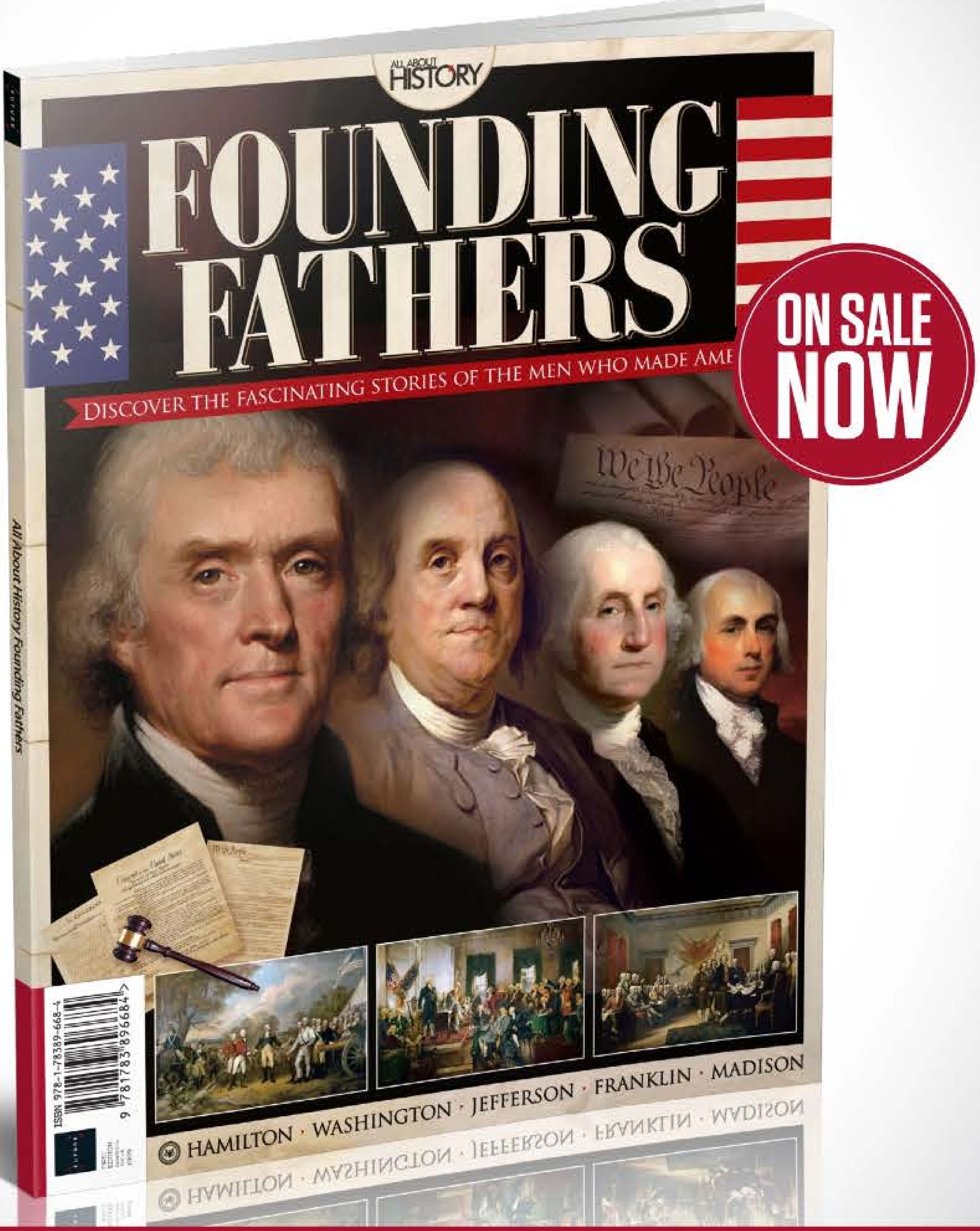
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